

THE EFFECTS OF THE HUGUENOT DIASPORA
ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Military History

by

STEVEN D. GRIFFIN, MAJOR, U.S. ARMY
B.A., University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1993

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2016

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited. Fair use determination or copyright permission has been obtained for the inclusion of pictures, maps, graphics, and any other works incorporated into this manuscript. A work of the United States Government is not subject to copyright, however further publication or sale of copyrighted images is not permissible.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 10-06-2016		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2015 – JUN 2016	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Effects of the Huguenot Diaspora on the American Revolution				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Major Steven D. Griffin				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT Louis XIV's 1685 Revocation of the <i>Edict of Nantes</i> led to the diaspora of an estimated 200,000 French Protestant Huguenot refugees throughout Europe and North America in what is known as Le Refuge. These Huguenots often intermingled and intermarried with earlier French Protestant Walloon refugees from the Spanish Netherlands. By the time of the American Revolution many of these refugee families had achieved significant political and economic power in their host nations, often leveraging refugee networks that crossed the Atlantic and spanned generations as part of a larger Protestant International. The result was that a large percentage of key American, British, French, and various German-speaking participants in the American Revolution had at least partial Huguenot ancestry. Given this high level of participation this study focuses on what actual, demonstrated effects the existing Huguenot networks had on the conflict, as seen against instruments of power in the DIME model of diplomacy, information, military, and economics, and to see if they were leveraged to any marked advantage. It also reviews to what extent these connections varied across different ethnic groups that the refugees acculturated into, if there any resulting effects on non-Huguenots, and if these transatlantic connections distinguished the Huguenots from other immigrant groups in the American Revolution.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Huguenots, Walloons, American Revolution, Instruments of Power, Refugees, Diaspora, Counterinsurgency, Ethnicity, Language, Religion, Immigration					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
			(U)	206	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: Major Steven D. Griffin

Thesis Title: The Effects of the Huguenot Diaspora on the American Revolution

Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chair
Prisco R. Hernandez, Ph.D.

_____, Member
James L. Haynsworth IV, Ph.D.

_____, Member
Edwin L. Kennedy, MA,

Accepted this 10th day of June 2016 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF THE HUGUENOT DIASPORA ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by Major Steven D. Griffin, 206 pages.

Louis XIV's 1685 Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* led to the diaspora of an estimated 200,000 French Protestant Huguenot refugees throughout Europe and North America in what is known as Le Refuge. These Huguenots often intermingled and intermarried with earlier French Protestant Walloon refugees from the Spanish Netherlands. By the time of the American Revolution many of these refugee families had achieved significant political and economic power in their host nations, often leveraging refugee networks that crossed the Atlantic and spanned generations as part of a larger Protestant International.

The result was that a large percentage of key American, British, French, and various German-speaking participants in the American Revolution had at least partial Huguenot ancestry. Given this high level of participation this study focuses on what actual, demonstrated effects the existing Huguenot networks had on the conflict, as seen against instruments of power in the DIME model of diplomacy, information, military, and economics, and to see if they were leveraged to any marked advantage. It also reviews to what extent these connections varied across different ethnic groups that the refugees acculturated into, if there any resulting effects on non-Huguenots, and if these transatlantic connections distinguished the Huguenots from other immigrant groups in the American Revolution.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my committee, Dr. Prisco Hernandez, Dr. James Haynsworth, and Mr. Edwin Kennedy for their guidance. Mr. Kennedy in particular has provided valuable mentorship and support. I would also like to thank Dr. Robert Baumann in facilitating an updated edition of this paper, along with Dr. Richard Faulkner and Dr. Richard Barbuto for their assistance with an earlier version of this research.

The efforts of COL Frank Stanco of the TRADOC Plans Directorate were instrumental in making this paper happen. LTC Bill Snook, Mr. Henry Chico-Villanueva, Mr. Dave Andrews, Mr. Robert Gucwa, Mr. Paul Coyle, Mr. Jay Vega, MAJ Brett Dunning, MAJ Erickson Mcclary, CPT Codie Fields, Mr. Julius Coats Jr., Mr. Abraham Anderson, Ms. Peggy Andrews, Mr. Emil Thode, Mr. Ron Watrous, Mr. Barry Hendricks, Mr. Chris Barbour, Dr. Diana Tierney, and Dr. Pete Laky also provided ideas and encouragement when needed. This included letting me draw on their collective decades of applicable military experience. Their willingness to let me bounce ideas off them, to include bravely analyzing my hand-drawn effects chains on whiteboards after normal duty hours, is greatly appreciated.

Ms. Janice Lorenz in her capacity as President-General of the National Huguenot Society offered both much appreciated support and critical input. The following individuals also provided assistance on behalf of their respective institutions: Mr. Fred H. Hayward of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada and Ms. Harriott Cheves Leland of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

The staffs of the several libraries were extremely helpful with assistance and directions as I searched their respective stacks and archives. These include the Watson

Library of the University of Kansas, the Sterling C. Evans Library at Texas A&M University, Perry Library at Old Dominion University, Boatwright Memorial Library at the University of Richmond, Swem Library at the College of William and Mary, the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, and the Daughters of American Revolution Library in Washington, DC.

Informal readers who provided helpful suggestions and encouragement include Mr. Daniel Foucachon, Mr. Raymond Agombar, Ms. Susan Drew, Ms. Kathy Garland McGee, Mr. Harry DuBose, Mr. Edward Thomas, Ms. Lindie Newman, Mr. Mike Cantine, Ms. Carolyn Goff, Ms. Michelle Miller, and Dr. Marion Paris. Additionally Ms. Carolyn Poff-Ruttan Strong, Ms. Maggie Parnell, and Ms. Denise Sovacool Jemeson provided assistance in locating references, while MAJ John Leming identified a particularly valuable source material. I would like to make special note of the assistance of Mrs. Brenda Mason made in her priceless efforts on my behalf in proofreading numerous drafts. The responsibility for any possible errors that may remain, despite their collective best efforts at eradication, remain solely my own.

Finally, my thanks to my wife Michelle, my daughter Kailey Brooke, and my son Bryan Colby. Thanks for your patience with my research and writings, something that I no doubt tested as I mentally disappeared into the 18th Century on endless weekends, or pointed out some random Huguenot connection at locations across both Europe and North America, this during multiple family vacations. I love you all very, very much.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
ACRONYMS	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: TIES OF BLOOD AND SPIRIT.....	1
King's Mountain	1
Calvinism and the French Wars of Religion.....	6
Diaspora and <i>Le Refuge</i>	12
The Atlantic Colonies	19
The Church of the Desert and the War of the Camisards	22
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW: THE 18th CENTURY GAP	27
Assimilation or Acculturation?	27
The Contemporary Viewpoint	32
Hidden Huguenots.....	36
Cultural Biases and Narrative Agendas	39
The American Revolution in Huguenot Literature	43
The Huguenots in Revolutionary War Literature	48
Religion and the American Revolution.....	56
Metrics	61
CHAPTER 3 THE ANGLICANS	63
The Anglican-Huguenot Alliance	63
Soldiers and Statesmen	66
Anglicans Versus Calvinists: Divided Loyalties?.....	71
The North: New England Compromise and a Mid-Atlantic Minority.....	74
The Southern Patriciate	82
CHAPTER 4 THE CALVINISTS	94
Guns, Money, Philosophy, and some Renegade Frenchmen.....	94
Germans from Many Lands	99
Scots from Scotland and other warmer Locales.....	106

The Scots-Irish or Ulster Scots: Huguenots through the Back Door	111
The Minor Streams.....	120
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION: WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS	124
Redoubt No. 10	124
The Americans	126
The British.....	130
The French	134
The Germans	136
Identification and Analysis of Effects along Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic Instruments of Power	139
Conclusion	148
GLOSSARY	158
APPENDIX A. ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO EITHER PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.....	163
APPENDIX B. BIOGRAPHIES OF SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO EITHER PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	164
APPENDIX C. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS PERTAINING TO THE HUGUENOT DIASPORA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	173
APPENDIX D. EFFECT NETWORKS BETWEEN SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	180
BIBLIOGRAPHY	181

ACRONYMS

DIME	Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic instruments of power
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
US	United States

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: TIES OF BLOOD AND SPIRIT

Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs! (Forward, sirs, there are your persecutors!)¹

— Field Marshal Henrych Schomberg, final words directed to his Huguenot regiments at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690

King's Mountain

On 7 October 1780 Major Patrick Ferguson, in an attempt to raise Tory forces in the Carolina back country and protect the left flank of Lord Cornwallis' forces in North Carolina, found his force of over a thousand Loyalists surrounded at the crest of King's Mountain, South Carolina. In response to Ferguson's demand that they lay down their arms, or he would "lay waste to their country with fire and sword," Patriot leaders had assembled an opposing force of approximately 900 "Overmountain Men" from the Western Appalachians.²

This Patriot force would include over 200 militia led by Lieutenant Colonel John Sevier including his brother, Captain Robert Sevier. The Sevier brothers were descendants of French Protestant refugees, "Huguenots" who originally spelled their family name "Xavier" and had immigrated to the Shenandoah Valley by way of Baltimore, Maryland. Over a couple of generations the family assimilated into the Scots-

¹ Matthew Glozier, *Marshal Schomberg 1615-1690, "The Ablest Soldier of His Age"* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 146.

² James K. Swisher, *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2008), 203-213.

Irish moving southwest along the Appalachian frontier and established a reputation among that community as both local political and military leaders.³

The remaining Overmountain Men also included at least one other Huguenot descendant, frontiersman John Crockett. John's family name had originally been "de Crocketague" when they escaped from France to Ireland. The Crocketts came to identify themselves with their Presbyterian neighbors, participating in the mass migrations from Ulster to Colonial America. John's son, David, would arguably become the most famous American frontiersman even before events at the Alamo elevated him to the status of Texas legend.⁴

By early afternoon the Patriot forces attacked in wooded, hilly terrain that gave a marked advantage to their use of musketry and informal tactics, this despite the Loyalists possessing the high ground. Ferguson's deputy, Loyalist Captain Abraham De Peyster, of the King's American Rangers, noted the terrain with concern. Its lack of open space negated the effectiveness of bayonets in the charge, a tactic that his veteran New Jersey Redcoats, provincially recruited Regulars that composed over a hundred strong core of Ferguson's Corps, were quite adept at conducting. De Peyester's family, were originally Walloons who had settled with the Dutch in the New Netherland, and they had further prospered later under British rule, providing two mayors for New York City. Abraham's

³ Gordon T. Belt, *John Sevier: Tennessee's First Hero* (Charleston: The History Press, 2014), 13-14.

⁴ Billy Kennedy, *Three Men of Destiny: Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, and David Crockett* (Greenville, SC: Ambassador Publications, 2008).

cousin, Arent De Peyster, a veteran of the British Army's 8th Regiment of Foot in the Seven Years War, was concurrently a major commanding British forces in Detroit.⁵

Arent would enjoy greater success up north than his cousin Abraham did in the south. Abraham De Peyster's fears about his Loyalist unit's poor defensive location proved tragically prescient. The Patriots required barely an hour to use the congested terrain to their advantage and overwhelm the Loyalist forces. Patrick Ferguson was shot multiple times and killed in the process of attempting a breakout of the perimeter, with Robert Sevier also dying in the prevention of his escape. Abraham De Peyster's surrender of the surviving Loyalist forces to the Patriots was followed by numerous Patriot reprisals and retributions for alleged, past Loyalist misdeeds. These reprisals occurred even after the raising of white flags by the surrendering British.

Lieutenant Anthony Allaire, De Peyster's adjutant, had earlier attempted to hold a section of the perimeter with a handful of remaining effectives. As a prisoner, he later watched a "trial" and execution of selected Loyalists and "hear a Presbyterian sermon, truly adapted to their principles of the times; or, rather, stuffed as full of Republicanism as their camp is of horse thieves."⁶ Allaire and his strongly held opinions resulted in part from his Huguenot ancestors having eventually settled in the Loyalist and Anglican stronghold of Rochester, New York.

⁵ David A. Armour, "DePeyster, Arent Schuyler," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto, 1987, accessed 13 September 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?id_nbr=2831.

⁶ Tennessee Genealogical Network, "The 1780 Diary of Loyalist Lieutenant Anthony Allaire of King's Mountain," *Tennesseans in the Revolutionary War*, accessed 11 September 2015, <http://www.tngenweb.org/revwar/kingsmountain/allaire.html>.

The Battle of King's Mountain was an important turning point in the American War for Independence. General Lord Cornwallis' southern flank was now exposed by the victory at King's Mountain, a victory that reinforced the actions of Patriot and Huguenot-descendant Francis Marion leading other partisans fighting along the swamps and rivers of the Carolina Lowcountry. No general Loyalist uprising could be expected with Southern Tory populations now fully intimidated and going to ground. Lord Cornwallis, with an exhausted command overextended beyond logistical support, began his retrograde back to the coast. Within a year this culminated in his surrender of his combined force of British and German-speaking regiments to the allied American and French regiments besieging him at Yorktown.

Beyond this important strategic victory, is a strategic implication: this of a handful of Huguenot descendants participating on opposing sides at a key battle of the war, perhaps representing a sort of microcosm of effects played across the American Revolution. What effects, if any, did the Huguenot Diaspora have on the American War of Independence? Between two to four thousand French Protestant refugees, out of an estimated total 200,000 Huguenot Refugees, ultimately immigrated to the British colonies in North America prior to the American Revolution. This resulted in an estimated 20,000 Huguenot descendants living in Colonial America by the period of the Revolutionary War.⁷ Yet any quick review of the list of Founding Fathers, Patriot leaders, and Revolutionary War historical figures results in names like Elias Boudinot, John Jay, Henry Laurens, Francis Marion, and Paul Revere, to say nothing of the hidden Huguenot

⁷ Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1-9.

heritages of men like George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris. A deeper review yields a far greater number of Huguenot-descended participants, with names like Molineux, Izard, and Freneau. This quantifiable evidence expands even further when combined with predominately Loyalist families like the De Lanceys and the aforementioned De Peysters. These Loyalists often served alongside British Huguenots named André and Montessor, or even with the numerous Swiss Huguenots in British service that included names like Haldimand and the distinguished Prévost family.

The baseline assertion, given this handful of examples drawn from a much larger pool, is that the amount of Huguenot participation in the American Revolution far exceeded that expected from the size of the initial refugee population. But this assertion, however significant and quantifiable it is, is merely a measure of “performance.” A more important question, given a disproportionately high level of participants on all sides of the American War of Independence who had some degree of French Protestant refugee ancestry, is what sort of “effects” did those Huguenot connections have? The Huguenots were no Protestant Illuminati plotting over generations to play both sides of the Atlantic chessboard and, if they were, they were a strangely masochistic version. However, the Huguenot Diaspora did result in a “Huguenot International,” as a core part of the larger Protestant International of the 17th and 18th Centuries.⁸

The refugees possessed cultural and linguistic connections across the Atlantic: family and merchant networks established remarkably quickly and maintained over generations, overlapping connections that cut across various instruments of power in the

⁸ David E. Lambert, *The Protestant International and Huguenot Immigration to Virginia (Studies in Church History)* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 9.

DIME model of diplomacy, information, military, and economics. How, and to what extent, did these connections have any effect on the American Revolution, and were they leveraged, even unknowingly, to any marked advantage by either side? Subordinate questions are: to what extent did these connections vary across different immigrant groups that the refugees acculturated into, and were there any resulting effects on non-Huguenots? Finally, did the possible overall effect of these connections somehow distinguish the Huguenots as a subject of study notably different from all the other ethnic and national groups that contributed to both Colonial America and the American War of Independence?

Calvinism and the French Wars of Religion

Any understanding of possible effects of the Huguenot Diaspora on the American Revolution must be framed in the larger context of both the origins of the Huguenots and the world resulting from their eventual exodus, aka "*Le Refuge*." The foundation for this framework rests with both the early years of the Protestant Reformation and Gutenberg's Bible. The two are inseparably interrelated as factors in the spread of Protestantism. Prior to this, from the 12th to 16th centuries, both France and greater Europe had numerous, attempted "reformers" of the Roman Catholic Church, from Peter Waldo and John Wycliffe, to John Hus. The results were often bloody and spectacular, and tended to end poorly and tragically for the would-be reformers. As a rule, their message was easily suppressed as heresy by the Catholic hierarchy or, at a minimum, contained before any movement could expand beyond local provinces and regions.

But timing is everything, and later reformers like Martin Luther, Theodore Beza, William Farel, and John Calvin would be greatly facilitated by Gutenberg's invention of

moveable type. It is significant that the first book ever printed was a Bible in a German dialect, as opposed to the contemporary handwritten Latin. The printing press, providing the printed Bible (in various languages) and their accompanying apologetics, facilitated Protestant ideas far more than any group of theses nailed to a church door.⁹ The ideas simply came too quickly and were soon too widespread for the Catholic Church to suppress. Radical Protestant ideas influenced not just local believers, but leadership throughout Europe, creating a “Magisterial Reformation” that included the nobility as well. The Protestant Reformation now had a source of political patronage and power that could, with varying degrees of success, help shelter and protect Protestant movements from physical violence by the Catholic Church and its allied ruling class. In France this leadership included significant numbers of *noblesse d'épée*, or “nobles of the sword,” who comprised the majority of the nobles who were attracted to the works of the reformer, Jean (or John) Calvin.¹⁰

The German Martin Luther is rightly given credit for initiating the second phase of the Reformation in 1517, but arguably it was the Frenchman Jean Calvin who was far more methodical, critical, and revolutionary in his analysis of the Church. An early Noyon, France-born reformer, Calvin fled from Paris to Geneva, Switzerland in 1538. This exile resulted from the Affair of the Placards, a series of anti-Catholic posters in Paris (to include one on the King's bedchamber) that shifted the policy of Francis I of

⁹ Evan Andrews, “7 Things You May Not Know About the Gutenberg Bible,” History.com, 23 February 2015, accessed 11 September 2015, <http://www.history.com/news/7-things-you-may-not-know-about-the-gutenberg-bible>.

¹⁰ Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots in France: After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: With a Visit to the Country of the Vaudois* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1874).

France from attempts at accommodation to one of persecution of early French Protestants. In exile, Calvin published, in 1541, his first French draft of his monumental *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, introducing then-radical philosophies on the relationship of Church and State, to include advocating forms of church government by elected elders that had implications beyond the church and extended throughout Europe.¹¹ These philosophies also influenced a Colonial America that included no shortage of Calvin's spiritual heirs among immigrant Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Reformed, and even Low Church Anglicans. As James I of England would remark, discussing Calvinism in its Presbyterian form nearly six decades later, "No bishop. No king!"¹²

Back in France the religious aspects of the Reformation were promptly overtaken by the political ones. Roughly a tenth of the French population, especially the emerging middle class and one-third of the nobility, allied themselves to the Calvinist, or "Huguenot," cause that was led by both the Coligny family and the House of Bourbon. The origins of the Huguenot name, originally a source of derision, are obscure, with varying credence given to a French corruption of German and Dutch words like *Eidgenosse* ("Confederate"), *Eid Genossen* ("Oath Fellow"), or even *Huis Genooten* ("House Mates"). The Catholic Church simply referred to the Huguenots in official documents as the *Prétendue Réformée Religion*, or "Pretended Reformed Religion." The

¹¹ Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (1536; repr., Geneva: Eerdman's Publishing, 1975).

¹² The Official Website of the British Monarchy, "James VI and I (r.1567-1625)," accessed 11 September 2015, [http://www.royal.gov.uk/historyofthemonarchy/scottish%20monarchs\(400ad-1603\)/thestewarts/jamesviandi.aspx](http://www.royal.gov.uk/historyofthemonarchy/scottish%20monarchs(400ad-1603)/thestewarts/jamesviandi.aspx).

Reformed movement, with its belief in an individual's salvation and right to directly read and interpret scripture, both accomplished without the intercession of the religious hierarchy, placed the Huguenots directly as a threat to both the theocracy of the Roman Catholic Church and the autocracy that exemplified most of the ruling aristocracy in royalist France. The opposition to this Protestant threat was embodied in the political leadership of the House of Guise, facilitated at times by Catherine de' Medici and the Cardinals of the French branch of the Catholic Church, to include Armand du Plessis, Cardinal-Duke of Richelieu, and his successor, Jules Mazarin.

Francis I's son and heir, Henry II, continued his father's persecution of the Huguenots with even greater vigor, but the number of Calvinist Protestants continued to grow, to an estimated two million total followers, to include up to half of the nobility.¹³ Henry II's death in 1559 brought the 15 year-old Francis II to the throne. His youth, inexperience, and marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots (a relative of the House of Guise) allowed the Guise family to assume control of the French Kingdom. A failed Protestant attempt in 1560 to kidnap Francis II, a plot that implicated Louis of Bourbon, Prince de Condé, led to hundreds of executions. In the years that followed general violence began to break out between Protestant and Catholic groups in cities across France. The death of the youthful Francis II brought his brother, the adolescent Charles IX, to the throne, with his mother Catherine de' Medici as the Queen-Regent. Catherine's early attempts at

¹³ Smiles, *The Huguenots in France After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. The Huguenot population and resulting refugee estimates of Smiles, and other authors from the 19th and early 20th centuries, tend to run higher than the estimates of more recent researchers. Their highest estimate of the France's Protestant population in the early 1600s is less than two million and this had decreased noticeably, due to multiple pressures, to (at most) a million, by the time of the Louis XIV's Revocation in 1685.

conciliation proved fruitless by the massacre of a Huguenot church congregation in Vassy by members of the Guise Family on 1 March 1560. Thus began the French Wars of Religion.

The French Wars of Religion lasted, in multiple phases, until Henry of Navarre's conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism to inherit the French crown in 1593 and 1594 while reputedly remarking that "*Paris vaut bien une messe*" or "Paris is well worth a Mass." In the preceding quarter century France had witnessed multiple military campaigns, civil disturbances, and outright atrocities committed freely by both sides. These were highlighted by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, instigated by Catherine de' Medici with the assassination of Huguenot leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny and his followers when they arrived in Paris on 24 August 1572 for the marriage of Catherine de' Medici's daughter, Margret of France, to Henry of Navarre. This event led to thousands of Protestants being murdered in Paris and throughout France. Pope Gregory XIII chose to commemorate this by having a *Te Deum* song in Rome, and ordering a medallion struck featuring Protestants killed by an avenging angel.¹⁴

Sympathies like those exemplified by Gregory XIII continued to drive Huguenot emigration in waves to Protestant countries throughout the Wars of Religion, often preceded by French-speaking Protestant Walloons fleeing the tender mercies of the Duke of Alva in the Spanish Netherlands. This was the *Premiere* or *Petit Refuge*. This refuge continued even after the new Henry IV of France attempted to placate and assure his

¹⁴ Charles M. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1854), Front piece. The author has also seen an issue of this coin on display at the Medieval Crime and Justice Museum in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, in Franconia, Germany.

former co-religionists, in 1598, with his “irrevocable” *Edict of Nantes*, guaranteeing the Huguenots limited rights and liberties in various regions of France.¹⁵ This royal largesse proved less than immutable after Henry’s assassination in 1610. His son Louis XIII was raised a Catholic and his state minister Cardinal Richelieu steadily reduced Protestant liberties and power, to include his successful siege of the Protestant fortress of La Rochelle in 1627 and 1628. Richelieu’s chosen successor, Cardinal Mazarin, balanced these persecutions against France’s need to appease its Protestant allies in their collective struggles against the Catholic House of Hapsburg during Europe’s Thirty Year’s War. That war’s conclusion in 1648 brought an end to any need for restraint.

Persecution increased when Henry’s grandson, Louis XIV, assumed direct rule in 1660. With the instigation of his influential mistress and future second wife, the former Protestant Françoise d’Aubigné, and also the successful “missionary” work done by his dragoons quartered in Protestant towns and homes, he felt free to revoke the *Edict of Nantes* with his *Edict of Fontainebleau* in 1685 and proclaim France “totally Catholic.” His joyful sentiments were not exactly echoed by Marshal Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, Governor of Lilles. In 1689, facing many of his former comrades during the Nine Year’s War (or War of the Grand Alliance), he addressed a request to King Louis that asked him to recall:

Those eighty to one hundred thousand people of various backgrounds that left the kingdom; who took with them over thirty million pounds of in cash; impoverished our arts and individual manufacturers, most of which were unknown to foreigners and drew tremendous amounts of money from various parts of Europe into France; brought about the ruin of most of our trade; increased

¹⁵ William Durant and Ariel Durant, *The Age of Louis XIV: A History of European Civilization in the Period of Pascal, Moliere, Cromwell, Milton, Peter the Great, Newton, and Spinoza: 1648-1715* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 430.

the enemy fleets by roughly eight to nine thousand sailors, among the best in the kingdom; increased their military by five to six hundred officers and ten to twelve thousand soldiers, many of whom were more seasoned than theirs, as shown on the occasions they have fought against us.¹⁶

Diaspora and *Le Refuge*

The Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* turned what had been primarily (with notable exceptions) a French domestic issue into a European-wide event, as an estimated 200,000 Protestant individuals and families left France in the next two decades in what is referred to as the Second or Grand Refuge, or simply *Le Refuge*.¹⁷ This diaspora is not unique in the history of Western Civilization. Europe had seen its mass diasporas before with the expulsions of Moors and Jews from Spain, and the Jews alone from England. Louis XIV was also arguably just enforcing the accepted, Europe-wide tradition of *curio regio, eius religio* (“whose realm, his religion”) that had existed since the *Peace of Westphalia* in 1648. The greater cruelty of *Le Refuge* was that the Louis XIV’s *Edict of Fontainebleau* actually forbade the Huguenots to leave France, or attempt to escape conversion to Catholicism, upon penalty of loss of all property, imprisonment, and even death.

The threats were not empty. Huguenot John Martheille would describe punishment by the *bastinado*, experienced after his capture for attempted escape and subsequent imprisonment as a galley slave. Stripped of his shirt and faced downward on a bench, the victim was then whipped by a “muscular Turk” who:

¹⁶ Sébastien de Vauban, “The Reactions in France and Abroad,” Musée virtuel du Protestantisme, accessed 11 September 2015, <http://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-reactions-in-france-and-abroad/>.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), 371.

Knows there will be no mercy for him if he spares, in the least, the poor wretch which is to be so cruelly punished, he applies his blows with the full force, so that each cut raises a bruise in height. Those who have suffered this punishment can rarely endure more than ten or twelve blows without losing the power of speech and motion. This does not hinder them from continuing to strike the poor body, which neither moves nor utters a cry until the number of blows ordered by the major are completed.¹⁸

Martheilhe would relate that he had witnessed victims receiving blows numbering over a hundred. In such cases the remedial qualities of surgeon's following application of vinegar and salt "to make the miserable body regain its sensibility" are doubtful.

Despite these risks Huguenots continued to flood to Protestant countries that surrounded France, and ultimately even further abroad, as the diaspora came to be broken into two principal Atlantic and Continental branches that split into further national and denominational "streams." Many of these Huguenot streams, with eddies for shifting allegiances to the various denominations of Protestantism, would wind and flow in Colonial North America. They would also have effects, both directly and indirectly, on the American War of Independence.

Switzerland was an obvious destination of choice for many refugees with religious, language, and familial connections to French-speaking Protestants already residing in Geneva and Neuchâtel. The skilled immigrants provided an impetus to Swiss industry, to include watchmaking, and also produced military families with names like Bouquet, Haldimand, and Prévost that would play a part in North America during both during the French and Indian War and later during the American Revolution. But the sheer size of the refugees' influx, nearly 20,000, was more than the Swiss Cantons were

¹⁸ Jean Martheilhe, *The Huguenot Galley-Slave, being the Authorized Autobiography of a French Protestant Condemned to the Gallies for the Sake of His Religion* (New York: Leypoldt and Holdt, 1867), 71.

prepared to handle. Efforts were made to redirect and settle at least part of the flood of refugees in the German-speaking states of Europe.

Using Frankfurt-am-Main as a transit point, the German-speaking states of Brandenburg, Hesse-Cassel, the Rhineland-Pfalz, and Franconia (especially the towns of Erlangen and Bayreuth), all received thousands of French Protestant refugees and provided “Germany with its greatest influx of Latin Blood since Roman times.”¹⁹ Years later, outside the main North American theater of the American War for Independence, Huguenot descendant August de la Motte of Hanover was to play a decisive role in the British defense of Gibraltar against America’s Spanish ally.

But the most noticeable impact of the Huguenot immigrants, by far, was that on the state of Brandenburg-Prussia. Elector Frederick Wilhelm’s *Edict of Potsdam* granted numerous privileges to skilled French Refugees that would settle in a Prussia desperately needing skilled farmers and artisans to replace the devastation to both the landscape and the general population in the wake of the Thirty Years War. The House of Hohenzollern was already greatly influenced, and would continue to be influenced, by the Huguenots. Frederick the Great was a descendant of two Huguenots, Eleanor d’Olbreuse and Admiral de Coligny, and he was tutored by another Huguenot, Jacques Duhan de Jandun. The scale of this influx was beyond just this personal, family influence as twenty thousand immigrants dramatically shaped the culture, politics, economy, and military of Prussia. A large percentage of the emerging Prussian bourgeoisie was now of French origin, to include no less than one-third of the founding members of the Academy of Sciences in

¹⁹ Prince Hubertus Zu Loewenstein, *The Germans in History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 193.

Berlin.²⁰ Generations of later Prussian military officers would bear names like von François and de la Motte, often to the detriment of France.

Meanwhile, other Huguenot refugees went farther east, often a generation or two after settling in Prussia. Poland had small numbers of Huguenots settle in Gdansk and Warsaw, with poet Daniel Chadowecki embracing both his Huguenot and Polish heritage from the French enclaves of Berlin. With the withdrawal of German borders following World War Two the numbers of practicing Protestants, French-descended or otherwise, eventually dwindled in a majority Catholic Poland, but the Reformed Church of Poland continues to acknowledge its partial Huguenot heritage today.²¹

Russia also gained a small number of Huguenot refugees, mainly 600 families settling in Saint Petersburg and eventually Moscow, with names like Blank, Bryullov (Brulleau), Faberge, and Theremin surviving thru the Soviet Era, and exemplified in fields of architecture, painting, jewelry, and music (as well as spy devices). Other families like Barré, Coulongue (Coulon), Fabray, and Tillo produced officers for the Russian Army and Navy.²² These included one Colonel De Favin, who sent a heartfelt job request to Benjamin Franklin describing himself as such: “*Je suis d’une de ces*

²⁰ Martin Kitchen, *Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 128-129.

²¹ Evangelical Reformed Church in Poland, “Welcome,” accessed 24 January 2016, <http://www.reformowani.pl/index.php/welcome>.

²² Matthew Glozier and David Onnedick, ed., *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 229-244.

familles réfugiée de France accusée des persécutions contre la Religion Reformée.”²³

Sadly, and despite his offered *résumé* of fighting for both Prussia and Russia, De Favin’s request for a commission to serve in the Continental Army apparently went unanswered.

Further north in Scandinavia, French Refugees settled in Sweden leaving a legacy of Huguenot names like Honoré and the Laval industrial dynasty. The refugees’ names intermingled among the existing names of Walloons previously recruited to help build the Swedish steel industry. King Frederick IV of Denmark also welcomed Huguenots to help settle the Danish town of Frederica, leaving a legacy of names like du Pont and Dufresne. Danish Huguenot immigration to the West Indies produced Abraham Markoe who, as a Danish subject, was unable to personally fight in the American Revolution. Markoe still was the founder of the Philadelphia Light Horse.

But it was the flood of refugees to Northwest Europe that had the most extensive and direct impact on the American colonies. This stream can be broken sequentially into the Netherlands and the eventual United Kingdom. Walloons had already established French Protestant communities throughout Amsterdam, Delft, Groningen, and among other Dutch cities. The Huguenot influence on the House of Orange also predated the Revocation. William the Silent had married Huguenot Anne de Coligny, daughter of the late French Admiral de Coligny killed on Saint Bartholomew’s Day, and after William’s assassination at the Prinsenhof, a Walloon Church in Delft, his last words were in French. By the time Pierre Bayle settled as a refugee in Amsterdam, the large number of French speakers had so permeated the city that the man known as the “Father of the

²³ Packard Humanities Institute, “From- de Favin (unpublished),” The Papers of Benjamin, accessed 11 September 2015, <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=26&page=328a001>.

Enlightenment” comfortably lived there, for a quarter century, having never bothered to learn any Dutch.²⁴ Many refugee aristocrats married into the Dutch nobility and patriciate, while scholars like Jean le Clerc made a name with his *Biblotech Universal*.

The refugees also spurred and participated greatly, in Dutch exploration and colonization. Walloon Peter Minuit helped secure New Netherland for the Dutch West India Company. The ancestors of the De Peysters settled throughout the colony alongside De la Noyes, Rapeljes, Bayards and numerous other French Protestant families that became (over succeeding generations that were subject to changes in government and the fortunes of war), originally French, arguably Dutch, then thoroughly British, and later quintessentially American or Canadian. Further south in the Atlantic, at Dutch East India Company’s Colony at the Cape of Good Hope, a few hundred refugees with names like Du Pre, Du Toit, Malan, Roux, Theron, and Viljoen strongly influenced its development, from things as mundane as winemaking to those with deeper implications like religion and politics.

One of the most important things the Huguenot refugees brought to the Dutch Stadholders and Princes of Orange was a large number of experienced soldiers who all shared a deep hatred of Louis XIV and a willingness to use their skills against either their former sovereign or, failing that opportunity, any other Catholic monarch. The future King William of England used this asset, and the willingness of exiled Huguenot bankers to finance his cause, to no small advantage against forces loyal to the Stuarts in England and Ireland. Field Marshal Schomberg, the talented former French officer who led

²⁴ K. H. D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 192.

William's army and died leading his Huguenot regiments at the Battle of the Boyne, was the foremost example. Countless other Huguenot expatriates followed Schomberg, many with family names that would later reverberate through British history, aristocratic and military dynasties like the Pescells and the Ligoniers who were assimilated into the British establishment.²⁵

The British Isles was already a rich sanctuary for kindred Walloons and Huguenots who arrived there during the Premiere Refuge, with an ebb and flow that adjusted to the whims of Tudor and Stuart monarchs, but never completely dried up. Surprisingly Scotland, despite John Knox and Presbyterianism's relationship to the Reformed Church, received relatively few immigrants, mainly focused around the Canongate area of present-day Edinburgh. This dearth was due to the relative lack of industry and jobs in Scotland as compared to England. Mostly rural Wales received even fewer refugees, with very little evidence of any lasting impact. But Scots and Welsh sons and daughters would eventually marry into French Protestant families as they migrated to America, producing men like Daniel Roberdeau, Peter Freneau, Gouverneur Morris, and Alexander Hamilton.

The relative lack of refugees in Scotland and Wales was more than compensated by the numbers seeking refuge in England and then Ireland after the Revocation, over 50,000 in all, bringing the word "refugee" into the English language.²⁶ Prior to the Revocation Huguenot refugees had been already settling for decades in English cities like Canterbury, Norwich, Devon, and London (especially in the Spitalfields area). After

²⁵ David Miles, *The Tribes of Great Britain* (London: Orion Books, 2006), 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 308-310.

1685, these numbers skyrocketed, while Huguenot settlements followed in Irish cities like Dublin, Belfast, and Lisburn, with refugees eventually intermarrying among both the Anglicans and Presbyterians. The Irish Huguenots also created a linen industry that compensated for the losses resulting from the various *Woolen Acts* that limited the importation of Irish wool to England.

Later some of the British raised descendants of these French Refugees would come to play a notable part in the American Revolution. Among these would be one Major John André, *aide-de-camp* to General Cornwallis, hung as a spy for his part in conspiring behind the lines with Benedict Arnold. Another was Colonel Issac Barré, a veteran of the French and Indian Wars, and later a pro-Colonial Member of Parliament, who coined the phrase “Sons of Liberty.”²⁷

The Atlantic Colonies

Many of these English and Irish raised refugee descendants settled in British North America. The success of this settlement pattern for the French Protestants presents itself in one, easily observed piece of evidence: today the most likely language the Huguenot descendants are to have in common, their *lingua franca* that cuts across nations, is not French, but English. This holds especially true when including all the Afrikaners, Germans, Netherlands, and Scandinavians of Huguenot descent who often speak English as a second language. There had been notable Huguenot attempts to establish North American colonies as places of refuge throughout the Wars of Religion and prior to the *Edict of Nantes*. If the accepted intent was to secure a French Protestant

²⁷ Lewis Namier, *England During the American Revolution* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1974), 261.

Refuge, these can best be collectively evaluated as being directly “highly ineffective” and yet indirectly “very effective.” They collectively failed to achieve any success as French national projects, but their very attempts inspired later successes under foreign Protestant rulers, successes that involved numerous, exiled Huguenots.

A 1562 colonization attempt made by Jean Ribault in Charlesfort (modern Port Royal, South Carolina) failed due to lack of support exacerbated by the ongoing French Wars of Religion. Later the Spanish massacred the inhabitants of Jean Ribault and Rene Laudonnière’s attempt at a Huguenot Colony at Fort Caroline, at the mouth of the St. Johns River in Florida, a fate shared (this time at the hands of the Portuguese) by another Huguenot attempt made much further south at Fort Coligny in Brazil. And while the Huguenot Pierre de Monts may have had a large influence in the exploration and colonization of New France, and Huguenots founded Port Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1605, by 1632 Jesuit influence at the French Court had resulted in Protestants being banned from immigrating to what became modern Canada.

But as unsuccessful as these attempts were they achieved indirect success in the form of inspiration. Escaping to London, Jean Ribault had enjoyed the dubious hospitality of Elizabeth I, to include time spent in the Tower of London. While imprisoned he wrote an account of his North American voyage that inspired her, among others, to try her hand at colonization. Colonial promoters like Gilbert, Raleigh, and Hakluyt all had ties with the Huguenots, ties facilitated by large numbers of seamen from places such as Devon, England who had fought alongside the Huguenots in the English

Channel during the Wars of Religion, or had joined Huguenot corsairs who raided French and Spanish shipping.²⁸

This inspiration eventually created a Protestant Refuge but, instead of under royal flags bearing the *fleur-de-lis*, it was primarily under the superimposed crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew that Huguenot refugees successfully settled throughout North America. Sometimes this settlement was from England or often intermingled with other immigrant groups such as the Dutch, various types of Germans, and the Scots-Irish that the Huguenots had already begun to acculturate into . . . and often prosper. Cities such as Boston, Charleston, and New York all had large French refugee populations. Huguenots founded settlements like Manakin Town, New Bordeaux, New Rochelle, and New Paltz, all while enjoying the protection of the British Crown.

By the time of the American War of Independence these descendants were often only two or three generations removed from France, at times even less, with many descendants in concentrated settlements still demonstrating an ability to speak French. The Huguenots were a group with a shared religious heritage, and also heritage of persecution by royal authority that had resulted in numerous wars and rebellions back in France. Yet some still supported the Revolution at the potential cost of their lives and fortunes, while others were just as willing to risk the same for the British Crown. A cultural factor affecting these decisions may rest not at the streams' destination, but back in the French watershed.

²⁸ J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benian, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: Volume I The Old Empire* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 54-55.

The Church of the Desert and the War of the Camisards

Not all Huguenots could flee, or necessarily wanted to flee “totally” Catholic France. This decision can be attributed to a couple of factors. First and foremost, the previously-described risks, which could vary according to regional distances to sanctuary and available resources to travel. These risks were weighed against the perceived rewards. This perception was highly subjective, varied among individuals in communities, and even within families. For some the loss of property, freedom, and possibly their lives were immaterial against the desire to remain true to their religious beliefs. Yet many, many more saw their own wisdom in reconvertng to the accepted faith, especially with respect to retaining noble titles, ancient lands, or business interests. Some especially pragmatic families even left one or two “*Nouveaux Convertis*” in possession of French business and property assets while the rest of the family immigrated, a sort of political-religious insurance policy taken against an aspired return of the Huguenot’s accepted minority status.²⁹

An estimated half-million Protestants chose to convert back to Roman Catholicism. This conversion often included a phased, unintended transition of the first generation displaying a purely outward acceptance (while remaining privately committed to the Reformed tradition, to the point of deathbed reconversions), the second generation becoming more accepting of Catholicism, and the third being truly devout Roman Catholics. The amazing Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, inventor, playwright,

²⁹ Raymond A. Mentzer, *Blood and Belief, Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provencal Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1993), 174-183.

and friend to the American Revolution was the product of one such family.³⁰ The Catholic Church, wary of compliance versus commitment, kept these *Nouveaux Convertis* under a strict watch, with the severest penalties for any perceived lapsing back to Calvinist doctrine.

For many Huguenots there was no question of any compliance, let alone commitment, perceived, or otherwise. An underground church, called the *église du desert*, or “church of the desert” (as a nod to the Hebrew travails), not only survived but prospered, with the unfortunate blood of martyrs bringing new life and spirit to what had been a dying church. The desert church was led by numerous pastors who were shepherds to their flocks, at deadly risk to both them and their congregations. Chief among these leaders was the dedicated Antoine Court (1696 to 1760), who preached throughout France, rebuilt secret church consistories and even held the first “Synod of the Desert in 1715” of the French Reformed Church, until driven into exile to Lausanne, Switzerland, where in 1737 Court founded an academy that trained French Reformed pastors until the end of the 18th Century.

And nowhere in France was this resistance to Louis XIV and the Catholic Church greater, quickly moving from an underground resistance movement to open rebellion, than in the Cévennes Mountains of South-Central France. If France was the Huguenot watershed, then the Cévennes became a headwaters to rival Geneva. Unlike most other Protestant enclaves in France, the Cévennes included a large percentage of the peasantry, among the usual artisans, merchants, and petty nobility in the local Reformed Church’s

³⁰ Brian N. Morton and Donald C. Spinelli, *Beaumarchais and the American Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), 1.

adherents. This larger, dedicated, and (above all) stubborn demographic base lived in a rugged terrain of high ridge mountains and narrow valleys, coupled with limestone rock that was dotted with cave systems. It would be a dream environment for the designer of any insurgency even to this day, and it soon became a nightmare for the army of Louis XIV.

Among the general oppression of Huguenots it was the vigorous anti-Protestant measures by François de Langlade du Chayla, Catholic Abbé of Chaila, and Inspector of Missions in the Cévennes, which was the trigger point of the revolt in 1700. His torture of Huguenot prisoners, which included coating them alive with tar and setting them on fire, led to his assassination by an enraged mob in his own residence. His death was followed by the execution of other Catholic priests by a population grown intolerant of their zeal and further urged on by local “Prophets.”

In retaliation nearly 25,000 Royalist forces were sent to the Cévennes. The king’s soldiers spent two fruitless years attempting to defeat an insurgency composed primarily of peasants with little to no formal military training, who took the name “Camisards” from the linen smock or shirt that served as their uniform. Finally, gaining the advantage after months of defeats, Royalist Field Marshal Villiers negotiated a peace with Camisards’ leader Jean Cavalier, a peasant who displayed an unnatural aptitude as general and who eventually died a brigadier in the British service. Without his leadership, another attempt at rebellion from 1710 to 1712 proved futile, but the Cévennes remains to this day an enclave of Protestantism in what is (at least nominally) a predominately-Catholic France.

The Camisards were following a tradition of resistance to ungodly and unjust tyrants, first asserted in Du Mornay's *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* that dated back to 1579 and the French Wars of Religion, but with a twist in the more plebian origins of their leadership and in the French Prophets among their number who encouraged them with their Millennialism.³¹ Those same prophets were often viewed with suspicion, when their later arrival and accompanying views in established sanctuaries such as England upset the sensibilities of not just the native English, but also their more conservative co-religionists among their fellow refugees. These radical views were carried across the Atlantic with results that varied up and down the Eastern seaboard of North America, from New England to South Carolina.³²

The question is how well the Camisards' tradition of resistance was translated into different cultures as it was carried, over a handful of decades and generations of scattered refugee descendants, from the peasants in the Cévennes to the frontiersmen of the Appalachians, merchant-planters of the Carolina Lowcountry, Hudson Valley farmers, and the township inhabitants of New England? Huguenot Patriots and Huguenot Loyalists throughout North America would no doubt disagree over an essential question: just who was the potential tyrant? Was it a single, distant British King, or was it a group of potential tyrants closer at hand? And the varying ways in which the Huguenots answered that question in the Revolutionary War can first be glimpsed by looking at the research and writings on both the Huguenots and the American War for Independence,

³¹ Philippe du Mornay, *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (Basel: 1579).

³² Catherine Randall, *From a Far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 32-41, 139; Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 39, 117.

and discovering how often (or not) the two fields of study are traditionally assumed to interact.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE 18th CENTURY GAP

When I consider the Circumstances under which our Ancestors settled in America, & recollect what I have heard of the Friendship that which subsisted between them, I find myself heartily disposed to serve this young gentleman, and act a Part towards him which I am sure would be exceedingly agreeable to my Parents, who always expressed the most friendly Sentiments of the Families from which his Father descended.³³

— John Jay, 11 June 1783 letter to Elias Boudinot referring to John Marsden Pintard's appointment as Counsel to Portugal, all three families being the descendants of Huguenot refugees.

Assimilation or Acculturation?

There is a notable lack of research dedicated to any possible connections between the American Revolution and the Huguenot Diaspora. This truth exists despite the seemingly endless number of volumes relating to the former subject and the nearly as significant amount of literature dedicated to the latter. It is the research equivalent of the two ships in *Evangeline* that pass in the night. This dearth of research revolves around a consensus among writers of both genres, rarely disputed, that there is a lack of documented, identifiable French Protestant cultural identity, or even awareness of a Huguenot heritage in British North America between the refugee descendants by around 1750, or roughly a quarter century gap before the War of Independence. Or, as Jon Butler

³³ John Jay, *The Selected Papers of John Jay, Volume 3, 1782-1784*, edited by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, and Jennifer E. Steenshorne (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 389.

titled his conclusions in his authoritative *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in a New World Society*: “Everywhere They Fled. Everywhere They Vanished.”³⁴

But is Butler’s verdict on the fate in Huguenots in North America the final one? In Europe, especially in parts of modern day Germany, the Huguenots maintained a sense of identity, to include the use of the French language that survived past the Napoleonic Wars. In her essay “Family Bonds Across the Refuge” Carolyn Lougee Chappell describes how the scattered cousins of the Champagné family maintained relationships across the refuge from Rochelle to the point of Baron de Saint-Surin in Celle naming his cousin, an Anglican Dean residing in Ireland, in his will in 1776. The evidence is that at least some sense of Huguenot identity existed into the late 1700s in Europe.³⁵

Back in North America Jon Butler uses a broad brushstroke to cover many, diverse types of settlements, with multiethnic cities like Boston, Charleston, and New York averaged alongside Francophone enclaves like New Rochelle, New Pfalz, and even New Bordeaux, the last of which was settled in 1764. Any rates of assimilation among different types of communities, to say nothing of different families and individuals within these various communities, are unlikely to average the same result. Butler avoids this dilemma by restricting his data pool to a roughly three-decade period of the Second Refuge: 1680 to 1710. Earlier Walloon and Huguenot settlements in North America serve only to set the stage for the following, larger flood of refugees. Later French Protestant settlements like Purrysburg and New Bordeaux are also discarded because “none of these

³⁴ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 199.

³⁵ Carolyn Lougee Chappell, “Family Bonds Across the Refuge,” in *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Randy J. Sparks and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 172-173.

settlements grew out of the original Huguenot emigration.”³⁶ While this restricted model makes the subject matter more manageable, it also negates broader temporal and spatial connections, the family and social bonds that existed between Francophone Protestants across both Europe and the Atlantic, and across generations.

Throughout his research Butler repeatedly references increasing Huguenot marriages to non-Huguenots, exogamy, as evidence of dissolving cohesiveness and lack of identity among the refugees.³⁷ While use or knowledge of the French language often serves as a *prima facie* indicator of ethnic identity among refugee descendants, marriage is more like church attendance in that the Huguenots often kept a foot in both doors. Butler’s use of ethnic purity as an indicator of ethnic identity is arguably a more emotional than scientific argument, something that seems more suited to characters in a J. K. Rowling novel describing the merits of someone who is “half-Muggle” than any objective measurement of ethnic identity. Both John Jay and Henry Laurens took non-Huguenot wives, Sarah Van Brugh Livingston and Eleanor Ball respectively, yet both men’s own writings proclaim them the most “Huguenot” of the Founding Fathers. In short, when it comes to a sense of Huguenot identity in the 1700s, loyalty trumps purity.

Other researchers, including Brenda Fay Roth, Amy Friedlander, Bertrand Van Reymbuke, and Paula Carlo have presented evidence that support different conclusions than Butler’s, a minority opinion asserting a longer, continual sense of Huguenot identity, at least in certain enclaves in South Carolina and New York. Roth’s research paper is accurately titled “The French Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina: Assimilation or

³⁶ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 217.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 80-81, 206-207.

Acculturation?” Van Reymbuke’s, *From Babylon to New Eden*, referencing both Butler’s work and Amy Friedlander’s dissertation “Carolina Huguenots: A Study of Cultural Pluralism in the Carolina Lowcountry,” argues that in South Carolina “the Huguenot experience resembles a process of integration, or even . . . of acculturation and ‘Creolization’ rather than simply assimilation.”³⁸ He further concludes:

The site of Charlesfort; the towns of Port Royal and Ravenal; Ribault Road in Beaufort; Horry County; Prioleau, Gendron, and Legare Street in Charleston, Gervais Street in Columbia, the Maginault House; the Charleston Huguenot Church; Hanover House in Clemson, the Middleburg and Hampton Plantations, Revolutionary War hero Francis Marion; the saying ‘rich as a Huguenot;’ and the dessert known as the Huguenot torte are some of the many indelible marks the Huguenot refugees have left on the history, toponymy, architectural scene, and cultural landscape of the Lowcountry and state of South Carolina.³⁹

“Indelible” is a far cry from “vanished.” They are also “marks” that did not disappear post 1750, only to magically reappear in the early 21st Century.

In her excellent *Huguenot Refugees in Colonial New York, Becoming American in the Hudson Valley*, Paula Wheeler Carlo, also asserts that the Huguenot settlements at New Pfalz and New Rochelle were “homogenous, autonomous” communities and that: “like Huguenot settlements in Germany, New Rochelle maintained a significant degree of ethnic homogeneity until at least the time of the American Revolution. While not as pronounced, some degree of ethnic homogeneity was preserved among the descendants of the founders of New Pfalz as well.”⁴⁰ Later in her research, Carlo further discusses the

³⁸ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), xviii.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁴⁰ Paula Wheeler Carlo, *Huguenot Refugees in Colonial New York: Becoming American* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), 2-3.

allegiances of New Pfalz and New Rochelle during the American Revolution. She highlights a distinction between the New Pfalz's leaning towards the Patriot cause and the more mixed allegiances of New Rochelle, concluding that, from both settlements founding until the American Revolution, the Huguenots "did not vanish as quickly or completely as had been argued previously."⁴¹

However, Paul McGraw in his essay "The Memory of the Huguenots in North America; Protestant History and Polemic" accepts the majority opinion that the Huguenots "essentially disappeared by the middle of the seventeenth century," but not before noting that their "presence in the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" is something "nearly as important as their physical presence."⁴² George Michael Smith also asserts in his research that the Huguenots existed in a greater American cultural memory throughout the 19th Century. This cultural memory was widespread enough in the 1800s, that multiple writers felt safe in their assumption that they could use the Huguenots as evidence to support their anti-Catholic or pro-American viewpoints, and rely on the easy comprehension, and even sympathy, of their readership with subject. However, even Smith notes that he originally began his research with a thesis idea focusing on the Huguenots and the American Revolution, before he found the lack of documentation too difficult an obstacle to overcome as he found (with the notable exception of John Jay) "few descendants who even seemed to care or refer to it in their

⁴¹ Ibid., 167-172.

⁴² Paul McGraw, "The History of the Huguenots in North America: Protestant History and Polemic," in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context, Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. David J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 286.

writing.”⁴³ This paper shall provide multiple examples of evidence that demonstrate otherwise, but with an admission that such examples generally require many hours of “pruning” to find the rose.

The Contemporary Viewpoint

A much better measurement standard of a continued, 18th Century Huguenot identity rests not in the opinions of modern researchers, but looking for their recognition beyond their own ethnic group, to see if contemporary, non-Huguenots identified them by their French Protestant ancestry. At times, the lack of recognition is especially frustrating, given the extensive list of Revolutionary War participants, both famous and obscure, who regularly interacted with refugee descendants, with many interactions that existed even prior to the Revolution. However, a contemporary, non-Huguenot commentary on Revolutionary War Huguenots does exist, remarking on Huguenots that are both famous and obscure.

Ben Franklin provides a frustrating example of a lack of commentary, especially since he was otherwise a demonstrated Francophile. Franklin supported Huguenot Lewis Timothee as a publisher, and later helped his widow Elizabeth become the first woman publisher in North America. He was a neighbor to a young Huguenot Elias Boudinot, carried on a lifelong friendship and correspondence with Huguenot abolitionist and Quaker Anthony Benezet, and received a request, for a commission in the Continental Army, from a Huguenot officer as far as Russia. Franklin also worked and corresponded with fellow Patriots like Huguenots John Jay and Henry Laurens, men who both proudly

⁴³ George Michael Smith, “Huguenot Memory and Identity in 19th Century America” (Master’s Thesis, The National Huguenot Society, San Antonio, TX, 2015), vi.

acknowledged their ancestry. He was also, reputedly, almost the victim of an attempted poisoning in 1781 by New York Huguenot, and British spy, Peter Allaire.⁴⁴ Yet Franklin's rare comments on the Huguenots were in the historical context when discussing religion with Samuel Mather or using the revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* as an example in a "Proposed Act to Prevent Emigration."⁴⁵

Another avowed Francophile, one with Huguenot connections despite his lack of proven French ancestry, was Thomas Jefferson. Originally from Wales, the Jefferson family settled in a colonial Virginia full of French Protestant families scattered from Manakin Town to Williamsburg. His neighbors included the descendants of both the Huguenot Martin and Easley families. Young Thomas was tutored in French by Scottish rector William Rector, whose parish register was filled with French names, and he later went to a school taught by Irish Huguenot James Maury, along with numerous Huguenot descendants. Jefferson was also was a close friend of English Huguenot Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.⁴⁶

Jefferson later employed the services of one Huguenot, poet Phillip Freneau, to criticize the policies of another Huguenot, his chief rival Alexander Hamilton. But it is purely suppositional to assert what effects this interaction with all these descendants of

⁴⁴ Founders Online, "To John Adams from Edmund Jennings, 20 October 1781," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://founders.Archives.gov/?q=peter%20allaire&s=1111311111&sa=&r=8&sr=>.

⁴⁵ Founders Online, "On a Proposed Act to Prevent Emigration, [December? 1773]," Founders Online, National Archives, December 1773, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://founders.Archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-20-02-0278>.

⁴⁶ Ann Woodlief, "The Huguenot World of Thomas Jefferson." The Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia, 2011, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://huguenot-manakin.org/manakin/jefferson.php>.

French religious refugees may have had on Jefferson's views on religious freedom, religious refugees, or even his love of France. Jefferson's letters only mention the Huguenots once, this again in an historical context, during a discussion that references Du Mornay's *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* and the value of a free press.⁴⁷

John Adams was aware of John Jay's Huguenot refugee ethnicity when he deplored the New Yorker's strong prejudices against the French, prejudices congruent with Jay's accompanying anti-Catholicism, asserting during the negotiations for the Treaty of Paris that "he (Jay) didn't like any Frenchman."⁴⁸ In 1806 the exiled Dutch radical, François Adriaan Van der Kemp, would feel comfortable enough with Adam's knowledge of the Huguenots, to discuss the very origin of the word Huguenot with him.⁴⁹ Years later, in his 1821 letter to Alden Bradford, Adams is confident enough to identify the Huguenot ancestry of Massachusetts Governor James Bowdoin and the marriage of Samuel Dexter to another Huguenot, reflecting how:

Josiah Quincy I think was absent in England—The only plausible conjecture that occurs to me is, that it was composed by Governor Bodwion, And Samuel Dexter; Father of the late great orator—For Bodwin was the Son of a Huguenot,

⁴⁷ Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: 1 July to 12 November 1802*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 551.

⁴⁸ John Adams, *John Adams 1735-1784*, ed. Paige Smith (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1962), 540.

⁴⁹ Founders Online, "To John Adams from François Adriaan Van der Kemp, 18 February 1806," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 25 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=huguenot%20%20Author%3A%22Van%20der%20Kem%2C%20Fran%C3%A7ois%20Adriaan%22&s=1111311121&r=1>.

and Dexter I think married a Huguenot—The luminous history of the Edict of Nantze and its revocation, indicates a French Protestant Origin.⁵⁰

Lutheran Pastor Henri Melchior Muhlenberg, father of famed fellow pastor and Continental Major General Peter Muhlenberg, would have been familiar with the Huguenots both in his native Brunswick-Lüneburg (part of modern Hanover) and in North America. In July of 1785 Muhlenberg's journal records the passing of Elizabeth Schleydorn of Philadelphia and he notes how "on her father's side she was descended from the so-called Huguenots."⁵¹ Down in South Carolina, Patriot John Rutledge was he surrounded by Huguenots in the Carolina Lowcountry. Given this background it should be no surprise that a young Rutledge would remember Henry Laurens, in their first meeting, as "a swarthy, well-knit man, below medium height, clearly a Huguenot."⁵²

Years later in South Carolina, Charles Pinckney would win the hand of Laurens' 18 year-old daughter, Mary Eleanor, in a 1788 marriage. Pinckney would joyfully write his friend Rufus King that he had married a "little French girl."⁵³ A couple of years later Pinckney would extol the benefits his wife's Huguenot heritage to James Madison. This in an attempt to gain a ministerial appointment from Thomas Jefferson as he possessed

⁵⁰ Founders Online, "From John Adams to Alden Bradford, 26 October 1821," Founders Online, The National Archives, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7563>.

⁵¹ Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, *The Journals of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes*. vol. 3 (Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Minesterium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, 1945), 676.

⁵² Richard Barry, *Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1971), 36.

⁵³ Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family, The Pinckneys of South Carolina* (New York: Hartcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 283.

“some advantages in having a wife bred altogether in France and England—to whom the French Language is properly her native tongue, as she writes & speaks it full as fluently as she does English.”⁵⁴

In 1801 the dying merchant Captain John Batten expressed a different, but no less heartfelt, emotion about his ancestry, as recorded in the diary of Salem, Massachusetts pastor William Bentley. When Bentley mistakenly introduces him as a Catholic, Batten “tho’ confined to his bed, with the true spirit of a Huguenot, he rose on his arm, pointed out the place of his nativity, celebrated in the controversy, & expressed that he held his native place and its zeal to the highest honour.”⁵⁵ Clearly these non-Huguenots are not observing either before, during, nor after the American Revolution, an ethnic group that has seen its identity vanish.

Hidden Huguenots

The identification of Huguenots and their probable effects on the Colonial and Revolutionary periods of American history first begs a question: what exactly constitutes a Huguenot name? The general answer to this refers back to both the Premiere (Petite) and Second (Grand) Refuge, and also involves making distinctions between French-speaking Walloons that fled the attentions of the Duke of Alva in the Spanish Netherlands, and later French-speaking Huguenots who fled France, particularly from the

⁵⁴ Founders Online, “To James Madison from Charles Pinckney, 6 August 1791,” Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-14-02-0061>.

⁵⁵ William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church of Salem, Massachusetts, Volume 2, January 1793 - December 1802* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1907), 405-406.

Dragonnades and the Louis the XIV. These two groups can be further separated from their French-speaking, fellow co-religionists from Switzerland. However, the groups often intermingled in their migrations and even a scholar like Van Ruymbeke, who prefers the accuracy of distinguishing between the different elements, has accepted using the umbrella term of Huguenot for convenience's sake.⁵⁶ This paper shall follow that precedent. It shall also follow, for simplicity's sake, Butler's example of generally using Huguenot to describe any descendant of French-speaking Protestants.⁵⁷

A more accurate answer to the original question is there are no Huguenot names, only French names that may or may not be Protestant or Catholic, varying from family to family, location to location, and even time to time. Families and individuals converted from Catholicism to Protestantism, and often back and forth due to political and economic needs, or even personal safety. Different waves of immigrants brought both types of French names to the shores of Great Britain and eventually British North America. Today Huguenot names like Batchelor and Crommelin still exist in the United Kingdom alongside Norman French names like Grosvenor and Prideaux.

Later, aristocratic Catholic refugees fled the French Revolution to Philadelphia and New York, giving expatriates like Talleyrand and Noiles the chance to cement friendships with Alexander Hamilton and remark upon how he "spoke French like a native."⁵⁸ And the number of French Catholic refugees who fled to Charleston, South

⁵⁶ Van Ruymbeke, 245.

⁵⁷ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, Preface.

⁵⁸ Francois Furstenburg, *When the United States Spoke French, Five Refugees Who Shaped a Nation* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 140.

Carolina from Saint Dominigue (modern Haiti) is actually greater than the French Protestants that preceded them.⁵⁹ Finally, some family names like “Martin” transcend multiple nationalities, and can extend from documented Huguenots like Virginia settler Jean Martin to non-Huguenots like North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin.

Huguenot names are often hidden by a combination of three factors: masking, adjustment, and conversion. Huguenots displayed a remarkable ability to integrate, and often prosper, in the communities within which they sought refuge. Exogamy, in this case exemplified by intermarriage with non-Huguenots, means that many French Protestant lineages are masked among maternal lines that often narrow to a single, paternal family name. Washington hides Martiau, and Hamilton is better known as the “bastard son of a Scotch peddler” than for learning French at the knee of his mother, Rachel Faucette. Finding an accompanying first name like that of Governour Morris is a rare clue, and even this helpful road sign does not prevent the US Army’s Center for Military History from describing him simply as “descended from Welsh soldiers.”⁶⁰

These preceding examples are at least partially accurate, compared to the Anglican-Huguenot De Lancey family that, likely due to the street location of their New York family residence, magically becomes Jewish in *George Washington’s Secret Six: The Spy Ring that Saved the American Revolution*.⁶¹ Huguenot names were also not

⁵⁹ Van Ruymbeke, 221.

⁶⁰ Robert K. Wright and Morris J. MacGregor Jr., *Gouverneur Morris, Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 1987), accessed 13 September 2015, <http://www.history.army.mil/books/revwar/ss/morrisg.htm>.

⁶¹ Brian Kilmeade and Don Yaeger, *George Washington’s Secret Six: The Spy Ring That Saved the American Revolution* (New York: The Penguin Group, 2014), 185.

exempt from the process of adjustment, often Anglicization, which affected other immigrant groups: De Crocketague became Crockett, Luis became Lewis, Picon became Pickens, and Xavier became Sevier. Finally, names were often simply just converted into their local, native linguistic counterpart, so Le Blanc became both the Dutch “De Witt” and the English “White.”

Cultural Biases and Narrative Agendas

Yet often the existence of a Huguenot lineage or relationship is not highlighted not because it is unknown, but because it does not serve the existing narrative or agenda of the author. This bias is understandable if the focus is, for example, on the Scots-Irish or German migrations to Colonial America but the omission often seems flagrant. James Webb’s, *Born Fighting*, does make a handful of mentions of the Huguenots among the other ethnic groups that the Scots-Irish accepted into their ranks. However, the Huguenots apparently contributed nothing worth mentioning to the table, be it the linen industry, or banking, or even a wee bit of their own fighting traditions, before they joined ranks with their rowdy, Calvinistic cousins. The resulting impression is that they were simply lucky enough to ride along during the Scots-Irish migrations from Ulster.⁶² John Stoudt describes a similar, myopic vision in his introduction to Greg Elmore Reaman’s, *Trail of the Huguenots*:

Indeed, when my father, Dr. John Baer Stoudt, founder of the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania, first suggested that many Pennsylvania German families have Huguenot backgrounds he was laughed at. Yet my mother’s maiden name was deLong, an ancient Huguenot family from Dauphine, and my father’s forebear was the Kieffer who Dr. Reaman mentions as changing his name from

⁶² Jim Webb, *Born Fighting, How the Scots-Irish Helped Shape America* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004).

Tonnellier earlier when he settled in Zweibrucken. Perhaps if he had settled in London he would have called himself Cooper.⁶³

The assertion that a Colonial American was always simply Scots-Irish or German, with no other sense of cultural identity (or cultural baggage), is simplistic and faulty, a sort of cultural draft, where the participants are only eligible to play for one team. John Leyburn's, *The Scotch Irish: A Social History*, is far more balanced in its approach. Leyburn not only mentions the Huguenots among several ethnic groups that intermarried with the Ulster Presbyterians, he also states how this was "fortunate" given their religious compatibility and expertise in linen manufactures.⁶⁴ He later follows the Scots-Irish's further encounters with Huguenot communities from New York to South Carolina, along with German settlers, creating a new kind of American pioneer "who went beyond the outer fringes of civilization to establish himself on the frontier."⁶⁵

Yet even writings mentioning the Huguenots are not immune to their own bias, as Huguenots exist as something worth mentioning only as another, useful example grafted into existing ethnic clichés. Or, as Bernard Cottret recently relayed, from another, much earlier author's assessment, written many years before the era of political correctness, "We are prone to think of him as a French Puritan, substantially identical with the English Puritans; as a fact, he was not essentially different from a Catholic Frenchman,

⁶³ Greg Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Huguenots in Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Canada* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Society, 1966), 10.

⁶⁴ James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 128, 159-160.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

except that he averaged better.”⁶⁶ Even “averaging better” the Huguenots submerge into a larger, American identity that Van Ruymbeke refers to as the “Puritan Paradigm.”⁶⁷ This submergence is not limited to the American perspective. The Ligoniers “are well and truly part of the British establishment by the mid-eighteenth century.”⁶⁸ The migrations of Malans and De La Reys are now part of greater Afrikaner trek, so their struggles are inherited by the entire nation.⁶⁹ To this day, the Huguenot Society of South Africa focuses on the original Huguenot settlers at the Dutch colony on the Cape of Good Hope, with nary a “Boucher” nor a “Barnard” listed among the “Huguenot Surnames Which Survive in South Africa” to hint that any Huguenot families might have arrived with the later British settlers.⁷⁰

Even when Huguenot connections exist in writings, these connections are viewed against a group of existing biases, relating to significance, subject matter, personal identification, and even modern politics that all weigh and judge relative relevance primarily from the author’s perspective. The reader’s own biases and opinions determine

⁶⁶ Bernard Cottret, “Frenchman by Birth, Huguenots by the Grace of God,” in *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 316-317.

⁶⁷ Van Ruymbeke, 223.

⁶⁸ Miles, 13.

⁶⁹ Philippe Denis, “The Cape Huguenots and Their Legacy in Apartheid South Africa,” in *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 301.

⁷⁰ Huguenot Society of South Africa, accessed 25 January 2016, <http://www.huguenoot.org.za/surname.htm>.

if the author's narrative lens is either a good thing, a bad thing, or just "a thing." A reader taking an extreme view of separation of church and state will likely resent any implication that ethnic or religious identification played any significant role in the American War of Independence, especially when compared against economic issues. Contra-wise, a reader interested solely in highlighting the Huguenot connections with the Patriot cause may be satisfied with a laundry list of all the Founding Fathers who were Huguenot descendants. Neither view is completely accurate or completely wrong.

Researchers and readers alike must also accept that even proven Huguenot ancestry may not indicate any effect on the American War of Independence, that an individual's French Protestant ancestry may prove "interesting" but not "relevant." Not far from the victory monument in Yorktown, Virginia memorializing the British capitulation in 1781 there stands another, smaller monument marking the homestead of Huguenot Nicolas Martiau.⁷¹ He is the earliest American ancestor of George Washington, along with other Patriots like Virginia Governor Thomas Nelson, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and many other members of the First Families of Virginia. Washington also knew, conducted business, and corresponded with numerous Huguenot descendants; from the eccentric Peter Labilliere to the thoroughly well connected Alice De Lancey-Izard. As Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, his personal staff included Huguenots Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens who, along with the Marquis de Lafayette, made up the "French Corner" of his mess tent.

⁷¹ The author has conducted numerous visits to the memorial. As of 2016, it guards the front entrance of an art gallery overlooking the riverfront of historic Yorktown.

Yet Washington never remarked about Martiau even when crossing his ancestor's homestead during the Siege of Yorktown, nor did he comment on a shared, Huguenot ancestry when passing through New Rochelle earlier in the war. No sense of pseudo-Masonic, Huguenot fealty spared his hand when ordering the hanging of British Major John André' for spying. In the relayed, ultimately successful, pleas of British Captain Charles Asgill's mother, Theresa Pratviel Asgill, these asking Washington to spare her captured son's life (this after Asgill's selection for execution in retribution for the British hanging of an American officer) shared French Protestant ancestry was not a factor.⁷² Ironically, when it came to his ancestry, Huguenot or otherwise, the Father of Our Country observed that "this is a subject to which I confess I have paid very little attention."⁷³

The American Revolution in Huguenot Literature

In general, the Huguenots and their diaspora disappear worldwide as a subject of research just prior to the American Revolution, sometimes vanishing just shy of the French and Indian War. The end dates in various titles are blatant clues to this: *Geneva and the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572*; *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1589-1685*; *Ireland's Huguenot Settlements and their Refuge, 1662-1745*; or *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750*. David Glozier has written extensively on

⁷² Jeffrey Messina, "Asgill Affair," George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed January 25, 2016, <http://www.mountvernon.org/research-collections/digital-encyclopedia/article/asgill-affair/>.

⁷³ Rob Hardy, "Ancestry," George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed 14 May 2015, <http://www.mountvernon.org/research-collections/digital-encyclopedia/article/ancestry/>.

the military contributions of the Huguenot refugees throughout Europe, with an emphasis on their service for William of Orange. This research includes *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688: The Lions of Judah*; Marshal Schomberg 1615-1690, “The Ablest Soldier of His Age”: *International Soldiering and the Formation of State Armies in Seventeenth-century Europe*; and his article, “Killing in Good Conscience.” Yet he stops short of the period of the American Revolution, even if events he describes will later influence it.

Glozier’s monumental collection, edited with David Onnedick, *Wars, Religion and Service: 1685-1713*, focuses on a quarter century period that concludes nearly a half century before even the French and Indian War, let alone the American Revolution. The irony here is that the collection begins with a foreword from General Sir Peter de la Billière, veteran of both the Falklands War and the first Persian Gulf War remarking on how, “to this day many people of distinction in professions and trades are descended from Huguenot ancestors; as with my family they take great pride in their lineage.”⁷⁴ Apparently, some Huguenot military traditions did linger, for a couple hundred years or so.

Still this gap is easier to accept, given the European focus of Glozier’s work, than Horton and Marie-Hélène Davies’ *French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands*. Here, in an overview of Huguenot contributions in almost every possible field, from the arts to medicine and from the military to politics, the authors manage to skip the Huguenot military participation in American Revolution, yet still list some random connections to

⁷⁴ Peter de la Billière, *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713*, ed. Michael Glozier and David Onnedick (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), xiii.

generals in the American Civil War.⁷⁵ In the Davies' defense, they do hit the easy targets of Jay and Hamilton when discussing Huguenot contributions to American politics. Yet even when historians get it "right" they can still get it "wrong." Tom Horton's *History's Lost Moments: The Stories Your Teacher Never Told You* correctly identifies the Huguenot ancestry of Lieutenant Anthony Allaire when recounting the events at King's Mountain. Yet, somehow, his Huguenot forbearers were also escaping the slave rebellions in Santo Domingo (modern Haiti), rebellions that began nearly a decade after the American Revolution and a century after the revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*.⁷⁶

The American Revolution fares little better in writings that focus on France itself, even if the sequence of events often overlaps into France's own revolution. Catherine Randall's *From a Far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*, follows how the French Protestant ideals of resistance to tyranny were carried to Colonial America, especially New England, but stops short of any detailed discussion of their possible effects on the Revolutionary War period beyond some references to George and Martha Washington, and Alexander Hamilton. The American Revolution gets some brief mention, in conjunction with the Marquis de Lafayette, in *Huguenots and French Opinion 1685-1787, The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* by Geoffrey Adams. The details of exactly how his "service to the American cause" made him a "convert to the Huguenot cause," other than a devotion to George Washington, are never adequately

⁷⁵ Horton Davies and Marie-Hélène Davies, *French Huguenots in English-speaking Lands* (Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2000), 86.

⁷⁶ Tom Horton, *History's Lost Moments: The Stories Your Teacher Never Told You: Vol 3* (Tarford Publishing, 2012), 79.

addressed.⁷⁷ This is still better than David Carrioch's *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom 1685-1789* where the American Revolution apparently never happened. This omission is apparently a non-issue, as the Marquis de Lafayette is hardly mentioned either, negating any possible, transatlantic influence of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens, Benjamin Huger, or even the entire City of Charleston.

Often, when existing Huguenot writings do mention the refugees' connections to the American Revolution, the inclusion is reduced to a form of "cheerleading." This cheerleading takes two forms: the listing of all the Patriot leadership with some French Protestant refugee ancestry, or dedicating some portion of a Founding Father's background story to their Huguenot heritage. This methodology often completely ignores any possible effects of these connections between individuals, treating Huguenot ancestry as an isolated event. It also negates the effects of the Huguenot leadership across the Loyalist community, to say nothing of ignoring any possible implications of refugee relationships between North American, British, and various other European participants.

Charles M. Weiss devotes an entire chapter in the second volume of his encyclopedic *History of the French Protestant Refugees* to the "Political Influence of the Refugees in America" including Patriots such as Marion, Laurens, and Revere.⁷⁸ This inclusion demonstrates that the author believes the subject merits a level of attention roughly equal to chapters he dedicated to the refugees, in almost every possible

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Adams, *Huguenots and French Opinion 1685-1787, The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 198.

⁷⁸ Weiss, 353-380.

destination and historical period over two centuries. But, Weiss' focus is solely on the Patriots, to the exclusion of the many Huguenot Loyalists, to say nothing of British, German, and Swiss Huguenots who served the British Crown during the war. While he shows how John Jay's ancestry affected his worldview, Weiss fails to provide any examples of how the refugee descendants' ancestry possibly affected their interaction with other Huguenots, or other ethnic groups.

The French Blood in America, by Lucian John Fosdick, is also celebratory in tone when discussing the Huguenots in general, including their influence of the American Revolution. His narrative, with some exceptions that briefly touch on the British Loyalists like the De Lancey and Faneuil families, concentrates on the Patriot contributions of the refugees. But, given that Fosdick's primary focus on North America is relatively narrower than the attempt by Weiss to cover the entire Huguenot Diaspora, he is able to highlight some more, obscure Huguenot Patriots.

A far more balanced approach is taken in G. Elmore Reaman's *The Trails of the Huguenots in Europe, the United States and Canada*. Reaman's work is genealogical in focus, but provides a solid overview of the transatlantic aspects of the refuge, even if some of the data provided (such as an estimate of two million refugees) is now dated.⁷⁹ Treating, to a certain extent, all of North America as a unit, Reaman not only provides examples of Huguenot families and individuals who chose the Patriot cause, but is able to highlight some of the descendants' continued migrations, now as Loyalist refugees, to modern-day Canada.

⁷⁹ Reaman, 11.

The Huguenots in Revolutionary War Literature

The Huguenots fare little better in works dedicated to the American War of Independence or the French and Indian War that preceded it. There is a gap of coverage that begins with the roughly quarter century leading up to the Revolution, and includes the critical period of the French and Indian War that influenced the later rebellion. This exclusion obscures the role that British and Swiss Huguenots played during the North American theater of the larger Seven Years War (1754 to 1763). This was often as part of a legacy created by Field Marshal Ligonier and exemplified by the Royal American Regiment, later the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans). This regiment was sponsored by Ligonier, founded by Swiss Huguenot James Prévost, and further financed by Huguenot bankers, including the Guinand family. It was also led by Huguenot officers like Frederick Haldimand, along with James' brothers Augustine and Marc Prévost. Alexander Campbell does an excellent job of highlighting all these connections in *The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm, 1755–1772*. During this war these Huguenots often experienced life and career-molding events in their battles alongside other Huguenots in British service like John Montessor, Isaac Barré, and Richard Montgomery.

Distant colonial cousins shared these events, like Paul De Meré, killed in the massacre, following the surrender of Fort Loudon to the Cherokee.⁸⁰ His son Raymond would later serve as an *aide-de-camp* to William Alexander, who claimed the title Lord

⁸⁰ Walter R. Borneman, *The French and Indian War, Deciding the Fate of North America* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006), 256.

Stirling and held Huguenot blood himself through his mother's De Peyster ancestors.⁸¹

The French and Indian War also gives the some of the earliest glimpses of Huguenot descendants among the Colonial militia, men like John Sevier and Francis Marion, who would come to play a significant part in the American Revolution. Paul Brewer also highlights the impact of the Huguenots on the British Army, during the century leading up to the American Revolution, as part of his work *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783*, starting with Field Marshal Ligonier and concluding:

Ligonier was exceptional, but not as exceptional as all that. Like their Protestant *confrères*, the Scots, Huguenot officers were common in the British army. About one in ten colonels serving between 1713 and 1763 were of Huguenot origin, and they were still better represented in the lower ranks of officer. Indeed the Huguenot officer was a sufficiently familiar character to be parodied by Henry Fielding in *Tom Jones* as the soldier who had forgotten his native tongue but had also failed to acquire English.⁸²

When it comes to the actual American Revolution a clue to the writer's interest in the Huguenots as part in the narrative, or at least that of his agent or publisher, often begins not with the table of contents, but at with a book's index. Quality and accuracy vary, especially with older volumes, but the reader of any random publication on the Revolutionary War is far more likely to find entries for "French Canadians" or even "French Catholics" than any entry for "French Protestants" or "Huguenots." This absence often holds true even if the Huguenots are touched upon in the narrative. Even if they are listed in a volume's index, the listings are rarely faithful to the actual contents.

⁸¹ Ettie Tidwell McCall, *Roster of Revolutionary War Soldiers in Georgia, Volume 3* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), 69.

⁸² John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 44-45.

Sometimes the absence, in contents, index, and overall narrative is glaring as in Lester Langley's *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*. Among the entirety of America, from Latin America, through the Caribbean, to Quebec, with multiple discussions of Catholicism and Protestantism, neither the word Huguenot nor the term French Protestant makes an appearance. Any possible effects are negated and the reader may be wondering if *Le Refuge* ever happened. Langley is not alone: in his 1976 Pulitzer Prize winning author David McCullough completely ignores the disproportionately large number of Huguenot descendants on both side of the war. The Huguenots get some mention Colin Bonwick's *The American Revolution*, but only as one more entry in a laundry list of ethnic groups. Again, this excludes the actual identification of any revolutionary participant having French Protestant ancestry, let alone demonstrating any of its possible effects.

One way Huguenots do make an appearance in Revolutionary War literature is in the "box check" mode. The writer, often in a biography, and in an attempt to flesh out their subject's background, will highlight their French Protestant ancestry with a few sentences or even a handful of pages. Sometimes this at least contributes to the author's assertions on how the Huguenot background of the biography's subject came to affect their later beliefs and actions, but often the result is just another interesting fact like being redheaded or left-handed. It is far rarer for the actual "connections" between Huguenots to be pointed out, even with numerous opportunities, and the Huguenots are often the collective forest that can't be seen for all the magnificent trees.

This is the case in Joseph J. Ellis' otherwise excellent and amazing *Founding Brothers*. The book, given its subject matter covering the relationships of the Founding

Fathers and other Revolutionary participants from the Revolution through the early years of the Republic, contains a virtual pantheon of Huguenot families. The famous and not-so-famous include André, Ballard, Bayard, Benezet, Faucette, Gallatin, Jay, and Laurens, plus names like Hamilton, Morris, and even Washington, that could be considered “Hidden Huguenots,” except that their ancestry should be somewhat familiar to most Revolutionary War researchers. Yet the word “Huguenot” never makes an appearance in the entire volume. Of all the discussed connections, the fact that a significant percentage of the subject matter shared, at least to some degree, the same ethnicity is completely lost.

Jack Rakove does a somewhat better job highlighting the Huguenot connection in his book *Revolutionaries: A New History of the Invention of America*. Rakove not only discusses Jay’s French Protestant heritage, even highlighting his grandfather Auguste’s marriage into the Dutch-Huguenot Bayard family, he later points out how the Laurens Family was also part of the “Huguenot diaspora” to include Henry Lauren’s attempts to contact distant family members in France.⁸³ Yet even the book’s index misses the author’s musings on how Jay’s pride in his French ancestry may have affected his dealings with French diplomat Conrad Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval.⁸⁴ The possible effects of the shared ancestry on the relationships of other revolutionaries like Boudinot, Hamilton, Jay, Laurens, and Morris are not broached.

The results again vary when a volume’s focus is on a particular participant in the American Revolution. George Adams Boyd devotes the title of the first chapter of *Elias*

⁸³ Jack Ravokey, *Revolutionaries; A New History of the Invention of America* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2010), 83, 204.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 260-261.

Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821 to Elias Boudinot's "Huguenot Heritage."⁸⁵

This is an appropriate introduction to a man who rivaled John Jay as one of the most devout Protestants among the revolutionaries. Yet, at the very start of the second chapter, when the reader is introduced to a new houseguest at the Boudinot family's New York home, an aspiring young man newly arrived from Nevis in the West Indies named Alexander Hamilton, their shared French Protestant ethnicity is not covered.

The Boudinot-Hamilton connection fares little better in Richard Brookhiser's *Alexander Hamilton, American*. In fact it fares worse, as Hamilton's stay with the Boudinot family is never mentioned and Elias Boudinot only rates a brief, one page mention. This occurs in a chapter that includes Continental Army veterans' frustrations with Congress, while Elias Boudinot was president of the Continental Congress.⁸⁶ In fact, no Huguenot connections are mentioned, even when discussing Hamilton's wartime interactions with his friend John (Jack) Laurens, or even later with the friend that eulogized him, Gouverneur Morris. Brookhiser does at least observe that Hamilton's fluency in French came at the knee of his mother.

Morris' own Huguenot ancestry fares surprisingly better under Brookhiser's pen in *Gentleman Revolutionary: Gouverneur Morris, the Rake Who Wrote the Constitution*. Brookhiser discusses Morris' French Protestant ancestry and attendance at the same

⁸⁵ George Adams Boyd, *Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1-11.

⁸⁶ Richard Brookhiser, *Alexander Hamilton, American* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 55.

school in New Rochelle that educated John Jay.⁸⁷ Brookhiser also refers to John Jay as “the Huguenot” during the very devout Jay’s castigations of both Morris’ amorous nature, and also his willingness to defend the rights of Catholics, something Jay vehemently opposed.⁸⁸ The De Lancey family’s Huguenot heritage also gets a brief mention alongside New York politician and Patriot, Ezra L’Hommedieu, even if that of Morris’ friend, and fellow Francophone, Alexander Hamilton does not.

Ron Chernow’s *Hamilton*, is an all-too-rare example of avoiding the trap of treating Alexander Hamilton’s Huguenot ancestry as an isolated non-factor. Chernow at least highlights the shared ancestry of Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens, arguably his closest friend during the American Revolution, so that being “French Huguenot on one side of their family, and English on the other, seemed like kindred spirits, spiritual twins.”⁸⁹ Given his efforts to properly identify at least half of Hamilton’s ancestry Chernow can be forgiven by Scottish readers for misidentifying Hamilton’s Scots heritage, if not by the ghost of Hamilton’s detractor Sam Adams. Chernow further clears the bar as he highlights that Hamilton likely learned French from his mother, and also how he reminisced about his refugee heritage while not letting the persecution of his ancestors affect his views toward Catholics and religious toleration in general.

Strangely, the Huguenots fail to appear in multiple volumes dedicated to the one field of research that would first appear custom-made for the subject; insurgency and

⁸⁷ Richard Brookhiser, *Revolutionary: Gouverneur Morris, the Rake Who Wrote the Constitution* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), 9.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 32, 60.

⁸⁹ Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 97.

guerilla warfare. Mark V. Kwansky's focus in his *Washington's Partisan War* is on the Middle Colonies, including New York, with numerous battles and events taking place around the Huguenot enclave of New Rochelle. Any local ethnicity, be it French, or Dutch, or German, does not rate the same mention as "French Alliance" or "German troops." Yet the Protestant French ethnicity of New Rochelle was singled out by Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, a Sous-Lieutenant in the allied French forces, as a probable explanation of the locals' cool reception to the Catholic French troops passing through on their way to Yorktown.⁹⁰

Further south, David Lee Russell's *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* does mention the Huguenots in a theater of war, full of French Protestant Refugee descendants. This includes references to Huguenots settling Charleston alongside Scottish Highlanders and the Huguenot ancestry of Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens. Russell ignores all other Huguenots on the Patriot side and the Loyalist—British forces as well. The resulting narrative is somewhat uneven as when he describes a Patriot force stretched out for miles that included:

[N]ot only Generals Lincoln and McIntosh, but the soon to be renowned Swamp Fox, Francis Marion; John Laurens and his regiment; Charles Cotsworth Pinckney, Thomas Heyward, Jr., a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and the Huguenot leader, General Isaac Huger.⁹¹

Given this context, the reader is left to wonder if Marion and Laurens, unlike Huger, failed in simply being Huguenots or rather as "leaders" of Huguenots.

⁹⁰ James J. Gigantino, *The American Revolution in New Jersey: Where Battlefield Meets the Homefront* (New Jersey: Rutgers Press, 2015), 101.

⁹¹ David Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 115.

James K. Swisher's thorough *War in the Southern Back Country*, occupies a similar theater of the war, though with a stated emphasis on a backcountry dominated by the Scots-Irish. However, there is no shortage of local Huguenots in his narrative. These individuals and families are reinforced with an influx of refugee descendants, fighting both for the Patriots and for the British with their Loyalist allies, and the sheer quantity of Huguenots involved achieves a quality all of its own. This includes Allaire, De Lancey, Demere, De Peyster, DeWitt, Fauquier, Horry, Lanier, Laurens, Lenoir, Lewis, Marion, Moultrie, Pickens, Posey, Prévost, and Sevier. Only twice is Huguenot ancestry even alluded to, first interestingly with the Swiss-born Huguenot, British Major General Prévost, and later when discussing the Huguenot part of Scots-Irish leader John Sevier's ancestry. The possible implications of this shared ethnicity are never discussed, and the book's index never mentions the term "Huguenot" or "French Protestant."

But, arguably, a far more disturbing omission of Huguenot connections is *The Swamp Fox*, by Scott D. Aiken and published by the Naval Institute Press. The author, a United States Marine Colonel at time of the book's publication, uses the historical setting as an instructional tool for "the history reader who applies lessons from the past to contemporary situations."⁹² Aiken begins with a seemingly semi-obligatory mention of Francis Marion's Huguenot ancestry and a quick description of the mix of Huguenot and Scots-Irish guerillas (again, non-indexed) that he fought with and led along the Santee and Pee Dee Rivers.

⁹² Scott D. Aiken, *The Swamp Fox, Lessons in Leadership from the Partisan Campaigns of Francis Marion* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), xiii.

The *Swamp Fox* splits its historical focus equally, between discussions of modern tactics and vignettes, while the obvious ethnic, linguistic, and religious connections among the French refugees receives far less mention (effectively none) than Improvised Explosive Devices listed four times in the index. The fact that, in a volume referencing Military Information Support Operations (formerly known as Psychological Operations), there is not a single mention of “ethnicity,” “language,” or (especially) “religion” speaks volumes about a dangerous and self-inflicted blind spot for many contemporary military thinkers. Trained to refrain from commenting on such subjects, especially taboo in an era of political correctness, military leaders also fail to accept their necessity in analyzing and understanding almost any possible insurgency.

Religion and the American Revolution

The importance and significance that religion played as part of the religion in the American War of Independence is a subject of dispute. This dispute can be an emotional one, especially when the purpose of the debate is not really to analyze the American Revolution itself, or even to accurately research the various religious beliefs the Founding Fathers held over their lifetimes, but instead is a means to justify a present day agenda about the relationship of church and state. The modern implications of the Founding Fathers’ beliefs are beyond the scope of this chapter, but for the Huguenots among them, like the vast majority of their colonial contemporaries, religion “mattered.”

This ethnic group had been involved in numerous Wars of Religion, been on the receiving end of numerous atrocities, and freely reciprocated when the opportunity presented itself. Their fate in France came down to a choice of at least outwardly accepting the Catholic faith or choosing exile at the risk to life, liberty, and property, with

the possible exceptions of maintaining an underground church or supporting armed rebellion against enormous odds. The Huguenots who later settled among the British joined a tradition that had, in a hundred year period prior to the American Revolution, seen the Catholic Stuarts overthrown (in a process Huguenots helped finance and contributed men-at-arms to), and experienced numerous laws passed, to include the *Test Acts*, that decided political rights based upon religious affiliation.

To assert that religion played no part in their decision-making process strains all limits of credibility. The contemporary British had no such illusions, especially with regard to the influence of Calvinism, especially in the form of Presbyterianism. King George III bemoaned the Presbyterian influence of the “Black Robed Regiment,” a reference to the Geneva gown of the Presbyterian clergy. Or, as Horace Walpole quipped, “There is no use crying about it. Cousin America has eloped with a Presbyterian parson.” The implication was also not lost on their German-speaking auxiliaries, as Captain Johann Heinrichs wrote home about a “Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Rebellion.” Heinrichs also identified the rebellion’s similarity to the French Wars of Religion.⁹³

Contemporary Patriots like New Englander Sam Adams also understood this factor all too well. At the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, he understood the need to unite the gathered members of multiple denominations. A Calvinist by tradition, he wisely chose Huguenot and Anglican clergyman Jacob Duché to lead an ecumenical prayer, this in a city founded by Quakers.⁹⁴ This decision allowed him to assert, “I am not

⁹³ Johann Heinrichs, “Extracts from the Letter Book of Captain Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jäger Corps, 1778-1780,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1898): 137.

⁹⁴ Ravoke, 55.

a religious bigot” and negate perceptions of New England zealotry.⁹⁵ A master propagandist, Adams realized that, in 18th Century America, religious operations were information operations, centuries before anyone ever coined the acronyms “PSYOPS” (Psychological Operations) or “MISO” (Military Information Support Operations).

The importance of religion, however nuanced, is not lost in Kevin Phillips’ *The Cousins Wars* where he traces the religious and political relationships between three wars: the English Civil War, the American War of Independence, and the American Civil War. Using extensive research and analysis, he shows patterns of Whig and Tory affiliations that transcend generations through settlement patterns, from places like Parliamentary and Cromwell strongholds in East Anglia to Congregationalist New England. He also discusses how different immigrant groups from Europe, including the Huguenots, settled among the more dominant British groups and, even more significantly, he takes time to cover the often divided loyalties of the Huguenots during the American Revolution.⁹⁶ For added credit his additional notes on the Scots-Irish refer to the Huguenot “antecedents” that produced Revolutionary War General John Sevier and General John Lewis.⁹⁷

The Huguenots play less prominence in other writings about religion in the period of the American Revolution. John Fea’s *Was America Founded as Christian Nation?* falls into the aforementioned genre of using historical examples to justify present policy

⁹⁵ Adams, 172.

⁹⁶ Kevin P. Phillips, *The Cousins Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 228-229.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 640.

agendas, but a mixed Dutch Huguenot audience gets a brief mention in the Jamaica, New York sermon of Patriot clergyman John Keeltas.⁹⁸ The Huguenots are again on the receiving end of a sermon in Thomas S. Kidd's *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father*. He refers to Whitefield's 1740 Colonial Era visit to Charleston, which included his preaching at the French Huguenot Church, as part of the larger "Great Awakening."⁹⁹ In *Doubting Thomas: The Religious Life and Legacy of Thomas Jefferson*, authors Mark Beliles and Jerry Newcombe suppose that Jefferson's Huguenot tutor, Reverend James Maury, would have exposed his young pupil to Protestant author Philippe du Mornay's *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*.¹⁰⁰

Yet in Stephen Waldman's *Founding Faith: How Our Founding Fathers Forged a Radical New Approach to Religious Liberty*, the Huguenots make another "check-the-box" appearance in a couple of pages listing immigration and settlement patterns. The implications of this immigration and settlement are never explored. The Huguenots receive somewhat better treatment, along with their Calvinist brethren among the Dutch, Germans, Scots and Scots-Irish, in *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers* by David L. Holmes which also includes a few pages dedicated to the devout, and opinionated, John Jay¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ John Fea, *Was America Founded as Christian Nation?* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 110.

⁹⁹ Thomas S. Kidd, *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2014), 99.

¹⁰⁰ Mark A Beliles and Jerry Newcombe, *Doubting Thomas: The Religious Life and Legacy of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Morgan James, 2015), 202.

¹⁰¹ David L. Holmes, *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 154-156.

This limited coverage of the Huguenots is often frustrating, often just inclusion in a laundry list of faiths that sounds (lacking only a few “begets”) nearly Biblical in documenting all the possible creeds of Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Quakers, and various other denominations found in Colonial America. However, it does hint at one important change in the menu of the Huguenot’s faith: “variety.” France had effectively offered them two choices, either Roman Catholicism or the Reformed Church. The various destinations of Le Refuge often broke down to a somewhat more palatable variation of this, either staying with their original dissenting or “stranger” church, or conforming to the local established form of Protestantism, for example Anglicanism or Lutheranism. The Huguenots often pragmatically adapted to this, keeping a foot in the door of both churches, in order to prosper.

In America, despite some lingering state-sponsored Anglicanism or Congregationalism, the Huguenots now faced a far larger menu of denominational choices. The advantages and disadvantages of each could shift with changes in government, say, Dutch New Netherland to British New York, and with migrations from coastal cities, with Quaker ministers and Anglican priests, to back country communities dependent on unschooled Baptist preachers and Methodist circuit riders. Individuals and even whole congregations could, and did, switch allegiances. This period of time marks a transition where religious affiliation is a much better indicator than nationality of what new “stream” of refugees a Huguenot likely identified with.

Metrics

If the preceding review illuminates a lack of research on possible connections between the Huguenot Diaspora and the American Revolution, it also leads to a discussion of how those effects are best demonstrated, with the realization that any such model is a reduction, a simplification of reality into something easier to visually and mentally grasp and (hopefully) understand. The formula for this demonstration would require a combination of history and genealogy, two fields not always supportive of one another, to look at diplomatic, information, military, and economic instruments of power (DIME) model across generations as individuals and families moved across different denominational streams. Specifically, in this case, looking for “effects” across the various religious denominations with which the Huguenots chose to affiliate. Effects for this purpose being counted in two general forms: either a Huguenot remarking (i.e. self-reporting) on how their heritage influenced them, or with some demonstration of the effect leveraged across the DIME model.

This model will arguably not identify a process that is always in synchronization. The nature of the conflict, and the shifting of existing political allegiances because of it, will result in conflicting effects in a process that seeks equilibrium. These conflicting effects will extend beyond just military ones, especially regarding the Huguenots’ existing business and diplomatic connections in the Protestant International, along with the exchange of information further subdivided along religious, educational, and linguistic lines. These shifts affected not just transatlantic relationships, but also internal North American and British politics, roughly along local variations in the Whig-Tory divide. These changes and disruptions, and the ripples in the flow from the conflict, also

serve as indicators of the importance of these connections. The search for these connections will begin next with a review of the Huguenots' relationship to the Anglican Church, with the resulting effects it had on the American Revolution.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANGLICANS

As soon as you began to care about them, that care was expressed in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies to some deputies of this house, sent to spy upon them—men whose behavior on many occasions had caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice to, some who to my knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.¹⁰²

— Isaac Barré, from a 1766 speech to the
British House of Commons

The Anglican-Huguenot Alliance

Anglicanism was the religious affiliation that one of the two major streams of Huguenots in North America adhered in the 18th Century, a distinction it shares with the various forms of Calvinism. It was also distinguished from those Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Reformed churches in that it often gained adherents, sometimes entire congregations, from what it saw as Dissenting or Stranger churches, and accomplishing this feat either first in England or later in the North American Colonies. This was accomplished through a combination of the Anglican Church's political, economic, and social appeal as the state church of England and from the dedicated efforts of the Church's missionary arm, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), an organization that displayed such a zeal for its mission that it earned the disparaging

¹⁰² Sidney Miner, *Colonel Isaac Barre, 1726-1802, Orator, Soldier, Statesman, and Friend of the American Colonies* (Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1901), 17-18.

description of “Anglican Jesuits” from Thomas Jefferson.¹⁰³ Indeed Jean Calvin had enjoyed good relations with the Anglican Church and had never actually condemned the Episcopalian system of bishops, something no doubt soothing to the conscience of Huguenots who saw the benefits of joining the established Church of England.¹⁰⁴

Prior to Louis XIV’s 1685 Revocation, England was already a haven for French-speaking Protestant Walloons fleeing from the Spanish Netherlands, along with some foresighted Huguenots from France itself, during the Petit Refuge. This demographic reconnaissance-in-force contributed to England’s attractiveness during the later Grand Refuge. Despite a shared Calvinism, the refugees tended, with some exceptions, to avoid Scotland and Wales, focusing on English urban centers where they could gain employment. England received an estimated 50,000 immigrants, making it one of the three biggest destinations for the refugees during the Huguenot Diaspora, along with the Netherlands and the various Germans-speaking states (especially Brandenburg-Prussia). This influx incidentally brought the word “refugee” into the English language and contributed to present-day claims such as three out of four Englishmen can claim some Huguenot ancestry, or that a quarter of London’s population is at least part Huguenot.¹⁰⁵

The established Church of England saw the Huguenot immigrants as both a threat and an opportunity. The Anglican Church rightfully feared a possible Dissenter-

¹⁰³ David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2006), 45.

¹⁰⁴ Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage; The History and Contribution of the Huguenots to Britain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 60.

¹⁰⁵ British Broadcasting Service, “Immigration and Emigration, The World in a City,” accessed 13 September 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/london/article_1.shtml.

Huguenot alliance if the Huguenots made, as later described, the easy jump between Jean Calvin and the Reformed Church and John Knox and Presbyterianism.¹⁰⁶ This fear may seem remote to a present-day observer in a secular society. It was all too real when viewed through the prism of a society that had experienced in less than four decades (1653 to 1690) the Puritan-led Commonwealth under Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, then the restoration of the Catholic Stuarts, followed by the Glorious Revolution that put William and Mary on the throne, a revolution facilitated by whole regiments of Huguenot refugees. King William, despite his fame as “King Billy” to generations of Orangemen, was actually personally tolerant in his dealings with other faiths, especially in matters of political expediency. His successor, Queen Anne, was not. The first monarch of a united Great Britain held an Anglican religious view that led to her supporting the *Test Acts* and the *Occasional Conformity Bill*. These acts and bill collectively excluded Dissenters and Non-conformists to the Church of England from public office. Religion at this time mattered greatly and was demonstrably intertwined with political power.

It was in this environment of inter-related, shifting political and religious alliances that the Church of England sought to bring the Huguenot refugees, who were acquiring military, political, and economic power, into the Anglican fold and thus turn a potential liability into an asset. The success of this policy in England resulted in Huguenot chapels existing to this day at places like Canterbury Cathedral, along with whole Anglican churches claiming Huguenot traditions, like Christ Church in Spitalfields. In fact the cliché that the Huguenots often became more English than the English has more than a small element of truth in it. Beyond just revitalizing industries like weaving, other

¹⁰⁶ James Michener, *The Covenant* (New York: Random House, 1980), 475.

textiles, and manufacture of fashion accessories, to say nothing of gunpowder production, any comprehensive listing of successful Anglo-Huguenots in business, arts, and sciences can (and has) filled volumes. Even a partial list is impressive: sculptor Louis Roubiliac, Shakespearean actor David Garrick, philosopher Samuel Romilly, doctor Hugh Chamberlain (inventor of the forceps), or even the numerous Huguenots who helped in founding the Bank of England and the London insurance industry, to include the Fauquier family.¹⁰⁷ The results can be seen in a different perspective by the fact that most present-day Englishmen know or conduct business with individuals and institutions with names like Oliver, Batchelor, Courtland, and Dolland without once considering their French origins.¹⁰⁸

Soldiers and Statesmen

The Huguenot's military contribution had the greatest, immediate effect on England, and upon the eventual United Kingdom, and the chain of these effects would ultimately exert a strong impact, both directly and indirectly, on the British North American Colonies that became the United States. Refugee soldiers followed William of Orange from the Netherlands to England. They were ably led by another Huguenot, William's dependable right arm, Field Marshal Frederick Schomberg, who died victorious at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland, accompanied by four regiments of French refugees. The professionalism these soldiers brought to a nascent British Army, not yet the accomplished combatant of future European and world conflicts should not be

¹⁰⁷ Gwynn, 113.

¹⁰⁸ Miles, 308.

underestimated. Nor should the passion the Huguenots displayed against their former French masters be discounted. Schomberg's final words encouraging his countrymen to victory at the Battle of the Boyne are one example. Another example came when Jean Cavalier left the Camisards' service in the Cévennes and he raised a regiment of refugees in English service. Facing their former persecutors, at Almanza in 1706, the Huguenots disdained to fire, rushing upon the Catholic French soldiers with bayonets. Such commitment from soldiers cannot be purchased simply with an ample treasury.¹⁰⁹

Many of these refugee soldiers were often granted titles, high ranking military commissions, and other positions of authority by grateful monarchs. Another British officer of Huguenot origin, Colonel Francis Ligonier, born François-Auguste de Ligonier, has a memorial in Westminster Abbey, executed by Louis Roubiliac. In a blatant testimony to the Ligonier Family's newfound membership in the British establishment it proudly states:

Sacred to FRANCIS LIGONIER Esq Colonel of Dragoons, a native of France, descended from a very ancient and very Honble family there; but a zealous Protestant and subject of England, sacrificing himself in its defence, against a POPISH PRETENDER at the BATTLE OF FALKIRK, in the year 1745. A distemper could not confine him to his bed when duty called him into the field, where he chose to meet death, rather than in the arms of his friends. But the disease proved more victorious than the enemy. He expired soon after the battle where under all the agonies of sickness and pain, he exerted a spirit of vigour and heroism. To the memory of such a brave and beloved brother, this monument is placed by Sir JOHN LIGONIER, Knight of the Bath, General of Horse in the British Army, with just grief, and brotherly affection.¹¹⁰

The brother who commissioned that memorial was later Field Marshal Sir John Ligonier, born Jean Louis Ligonier. Field Marshal Ligonier would guide and direct the British

¹⁰⁹ Gwynn, 186.

¹¹⁰ Miles, 13.

army up to its success in North America during the French and Indian War, itself a subset of the wider Seven Year's War. Having no sons of his own, this, despite no shortage of youthful mistresses, his patronage never the less, left a dynasty of professional heirs in the British Army.

Ligonier's dynastic legacy included a large number of Huguenots, one example being his sponsorship of the 60th Regiment of Foot, the Royal American Regiment. Proposed by a Swiss-born Huguenot, British officer James Prévost, the regiment raised among the British North American colonies, especially Pennsylvania, and led by foreign Protestant officers granted British commissions, to include its eventual commander, another native of Switzerland, Henry Bouquet.¹¹¹ Colonel Bouquet would command three other Huguenot officers who would play important parts both before and during the American Revolution: his friend Frederick Haldimand and Jacques Prévost's brothers, Augustine and Jacques Marcus. The Royal American Regiment participated with honor throughout North America in the French and Indian War, and with officers like Huguenot Lewis Ourry interacting with notable colonial officials like Ben Franklin in Philadelphia.¹¹² Henry Bouquet himself would correspond with Franklin and dealt with Charleston merchant Henry Laurens, who would charge him nearly two thousand pounds for blankets and other articles.¹¹³ Another former Lieutenant of the Royal Americans,

¹¹¹ Alexander V. Campbell, *The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm 1755-1772* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

¹¹² Founders Online, "Louis Ourry to----, 26 December 1756," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-07-02-0022>.

¹¹³ Henry Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens: Volume 9: April 19. 1773-Dec. 12. 1774*, ed. George C. Rogers, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina

Swiss Huguenot Joseph DesBarres, educated at the University of Basel and trained in surveying at Woolwich, would produce for the British Admiralty the highly accurate series of *Atlantic Neptune* charts covering the Atlantic Coast from Nova Scotia to New York.¹¹⁴

British Lieutenant Governor Francis Fauquier, son of Dr. John Francis Fauquier, a director of the Bank of England, sat in the Colonial circles of power, in his case in the seat of the Virginia government in Williamsburg. From here, Fauquier was both a friend to a young Thomas Jefferson and a foil to Patrick Henry.¹¹⁵ Other English Huguenots would play a part in the American Revolution, to include the tragic Major John André, who would valiantly meet his end at the hangman's noose as spy. Another was engineer John Montross, born in Gibraltar and reputedly the father of Ethan Allen's second wife. There were also the Pigot brothers: Hugh, a Royal Navy officer, and Robert, a Royal Marine who led the British forces assaulting Bunker Hill.

Huguenots and other foreign Protestants had also settled in parts of Ireland as early as the reign of Henry VIII.¹¹⁶ John Ligonier himself, despite his brother's memorial being in London, was created a peer of Ireland, not England, as the first Earl of

Press), 21; Founders Online, "From Benjamin Franklin to Henry Bouquet, 14 April 1757," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 26 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-07-02-0078>.

¹¹⁴ R. J. Morgan, "DesBarres, Joseph Frederick Wallet," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto, 1987, accessed 27 January 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbarres_joseph_frederick_wallet_6E.html.

¹¹⁵ Colonial Williamsburg, "Francis Fauquier," accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.history.org/almanack/people/bios/biofaq.cfm>.

¹¹⁶ Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry, Practical Revolutionary* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1957), 473.

Galloway. Approximately ten thousand Huguenots settled in Ireland, with the largest settlements in Dublin and Cork, and a colony of about 500 in Portarlington. Here, as in England, there was a split between those who remained affiliated with the Dissenters, often Presbyterians, or affiliated with the Anglican Church and the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy that ruled Ireland. Members of many of these Huguenot families achieved fame and fortune, to include the La Touche family in banking, the Crommelin family in linen manufacture, and writers like Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Samuel Beckett. Their descendants also included Henrietta Beaulieu, who married Anglican clergyman Gideon Johnson, travelled as missionary to Charleston, South Carolina in 1702, and became the first woman painter in America.¹¹⁷ By far the most entertaining connection is that of the eccentric Peter Billière, veteran of the British Army, and self-styled “Christian Patriot & Citizen of the World” who wrote to both Ben Franklin and George Washington pledging his support to the Patriot cause.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, these families and individuals, successful as they were, had relatively little impact on the American Revolution.

Yet Ireland would also produce a pair of Anglo-Irish Huguenots, both veterans of the French and Indian War and graduates of Trinity College, who would have a lasting impact on North American colonies. One was Richard Montgomery, whose Scottish forebears had served the French Kings, until Gabriel Montgomery had the grave misfortune of accidentally killing King Henry II in a jousting tournament, and incidentally

¹¹⁷ Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 116.

¹¹⁸ Founders Online, “To George Washington from Peter Labilliere, 4 November 1777,” Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 15 September 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-12-02-0109>. Among Labilliere’s many known eccentricities was his ultimately successful request to be buried headfirst at Box Hill Cemetery.

incurring the wrath of Catherine de' Medici. The family fortunes were not facilitated any better by his championship of the Protestant cause, ending in a trip to the scaffold. Later generations accompanied William of Orange to England and received an estate in Ireland for their loyalty. Richard Montgomery would die leading the unsuccessful Patriot campaign to Canada. Fellow Huguenot Isaac Barré would have even greater impact.¹¹⁹ His “Sons of Liberty” speech to the British Parliament would become a rallying cry and source of prideful identity to future revolutionaries, especially those in and around Boston, to include the famed Paul Revere and master agitator Phillip Molineux.

Anglicans Versus Calvinists: Divided Loyalties?

The competitive religious nature of the nascent United Kingdom, established in 1707 with Anglicanism as the official church in England, Presbyterianism playing a similar role in Scotland, Ireland having loyalties divided between them, all Protestants fearing a resurgent Catholicism, and Huguenots having a hand in all parties, would continue to play out in North America. Religious affiliation played a strong role in the events that led to the American Revolution throughout the American colonies. This view was best evidenced by the remarks of the British Member of Parliament Horace Walpole, who stated “Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian Parson!”¹²⁰ The implications of this statement were congruent with the deeply held British view that the American Revolution was a result of Dissenter, and especially Presbyterian, influences.

¹¹⁹ John C. Milner, *This New Man, This American: The Beginnings of the American People* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1901), 3.

¹²⁰ Stanley Weintraub, *Iron Tears: America's Battle for Freedom, Britain's Quagmire: 1775-1783* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 1.

To some extent this was an accurate assessment. The Reverend John Witherspoon helped guide the College of New Jersey (modern Princeton University) into a haven for students who sympathized with ideas of the Sons of Liberty, and he later joined other Presbyterians and Reformed Church members who willingly signed the Declaration of Independence alongside the more numerous Anglicans. And the Anglican Vestryman George Washington recognized the enduring hatred one Presbyterian group felt for the British Crown when he stated, “If all else fails, I will retreat up the valley of Virginia, plant my flag on the Blue Ridge, rally around the Scotch-Irish of that region and make my last stand for liberty amongst a people who will never submit to British tyranny whilst there is a man left to draw a trigger.”¹²¹

This explanation of the revolutionary conflict, as simple breakdown along Anglican versus Calvinist lines, has some application when applied to the Presbyterian Scots-Irish populating large areas the Appalachian back country, from Pennsylvania down to through the Carolinas, and numerous Overmountain Men who fought against the British. Here ancestry and religion were intertwined in a sense of group identity, and these connections will be examined in the next chapter. But this simplified approach has its shortcomings, as even among the Presbyterian and Reformed communities there was not a uniform consensus towards the Patriot or Loyalist causes. Many Highland Scots, especially recent immigrants (including both Presbyterians and Catholics), stood by the Crown, eventually leading to the dramatic showdown with their lowland, Ulster kin at the Battle of King’s Mountain, fought with the aforementioned Huguenots scattered among

¹²¹ William Lewis Burke and Walter B. Edgar, *Dawn of Religious Freedom in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 7.

them. And there is no clear pattern of political affiliation among German-speaking settlers of the Reformed tradition, with many choosing to observe uneasy neutrality.

The Anglican versus Calvinist model also fails to explain how many Revolutionaries, to include much of the Revolutionary leadership that became Founding Fathers, did not let their membership in the Church of England, an organization that held the British monarch to be its head, prevent them from committing their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor to the Patriot cause. This was not a trivial point since the King (or Queen) of Great Britain held the title of Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Anglican ministers were bound by their oaths to support the King, an oath many of them took quite seriously. A political rebellion against the crown also had implications as a religious rebellion, during the American Revolution 75 percent of Anglican congregations were without their clergy.¹²² These implications were of little concern to Scots-Irish Presbyterians or German Lutherans as highlighted by tales of Presbyterian pastor James Caldwell turning hymnals into musket wadding and saying “Give ‘em Watts, boys!” or “Fighting Parson” Peter Muhlenberg throwing off his robes in front of his Lutheran congregation and revealing his American militia uniform. There were often were legal and moral arguments about the justifications of the war, but political rebellion was generally not also a religious rebellion for other Protestant creeds.

¹²² Jon Butler, *Religion in Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 130.

The North: New England Compromise
and a Mid-Atlantic Minority

Congregationalism in New England was the result of two sub-streams, the Pilgrims who first traveled to the Netherlands then later arrived at Plymouth Rock, and the much larger Puritan Great Migration from England itself, the political and spiritual heirs of men like Oliver Cromwell. Like the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches they had Calvinistic influences, though the Congregationalists emphasized the independence of individual congregations over subordination to any federal church polity. The Pilgrims had known of the sufferings of the French Protestants back in England, and they extensively interacted with the Walloons during their later sanctuary in Leiden. The future author of the *Mayflower Compact*, John Carver, along with his first wife Mary de Lannoy, was a communicant of the Walloon Church in Leiden, and the Walloons acted upon the proposed Manhattan settlement that the Pilgrims first passed on.¹²³

There were ties between famed Puritan minister, Cotton Mather, and Huguenot clergyman and French prisoner Elie Neau. Mather led prayers for his release, and the two corresponded. Yet a freed Neau, upon his arrival in New York, converted to Anglicanism.¹²⁴ This conversion is a clue that hints at an interesting observation: though both Huguenots and Calvinism affected Congregationalism, and Congregational New England was (with select Tidewater Anglicans and backcountry Presbyterians) one of the three biggest sources of revolutionary zeal, not many prominent Huguenot Patriots (or

¹²³ Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners: Leiden and the Foundations of the Plymouth Plantation* (General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009).

¹²⁴ Randall, *From a Far Country*, 156.

Loyalists for the matter) were Congregationalists. Here the Anglican versus Calvinist model fails when applied to centers of Huguenot colonization such as Boston. In Boston, there was a pattern of exogamy and a tradition of Huguenots having dual membership in both the Anglican Church, for social mobility, and the “French Church,” to retain cultural and historical ties.¹²⁵

This dual-membership pattern would include families like one of the arguably most famous Huguenot Patriots, militiaman and silversmith Paul Revere. It also produced some relatively obscure Huguenots who arguably had at least as large an impact on the Patriot cause, if not even larger. Phillip Molineux, born in England, was a propagandist whose skills rivaled those of Sam Adams. He is reputed to be the chief one of the instigators of the Boston Tea Party, his fame cut short by his death in 1774. Boston also produced the influential and powerful Patriot leader James Bowdoin. Many of these early Sons of Liberty would gather at Faneuil Hall, gift to the city of Boston from the wealthy and powerful Huguenot Faneuil family, though the majority of Faneuils would later chose the Loyalist cause and eventual exile. Another Massachusetts Huguenot made his fortune both as a privateer in the war and as a merchant, Jean Thoreau, father of poet Henry David Thoreau.¹²⁶ Further afield in New England, Rhode Island would produce a rare example of a pre-Revolutionary, American Huguenot military “dynasty,” this in the Mawny (Le Moine) family of Rhode Island. John Mawney, Jr., one of the 1772 raiders of the HMS *Gaspee*, was the son of a sheriff and the grandson of a militia colonel.

¹²⁵ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 76-80.

¹²⁶ Steve Hahn, “Henry Thoreau,” in *Writers of the American Renaissance: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 357.

Further south, New York would have ties with the Huguenots from the time Walloon Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan, its settlement nurturing families like the De La Noyes and the De Peysters. German-born Jacob Leisler was another settler of New York, the son of an exiled Huguenot minister who then served as a mercenary soldier before becoming a wealthy planter. A few years after the Revocation, he facilitated the purchase of New Rochelle for other Huguenot refugees before his execution on dubious charges of treason.¹²⁷ New Rochelle was preceded by another, decade older settlement of Huguenots from the German Palatinate, at New Paltz, New York.¹²⁸ New Paltz would remain a haven of reformed tradition, but with the transition of the Dutch New Netherland into British New York, many congregations saw the wisdom in aligning themselves with the Anglican Church and the financial support provided by the SPG. These included the Church of Saint Esprit in Manhattan and a splitting of the congregation in New Rochelle into separate Anglican and Calvinist churches. The Anglican affiliation would eventually result in Reverend Richard Stouppe, late of Switzerland and Charleston, South Carolina, arriving in 1724, as the SPG's newly appointed pastor of New Rochelle's Anglican Church. Stouppe was concerned about the lack of educational opportunities in New Rochelle and established a parish school as a result.¹²⁹ This small school in upstate New York would have lasting effects on the American Revolution through three of its alumni: John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and Phillip Schulyer.

¹²⁷ Carlo, 29-31, 40-43.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 125.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 107.

John Jay, at times president of the Continental Congress and later a diplomatic negotiator, would be one of the most devout of the Founding Fathers and wrote in detail about his Huguenot ancestry.¹³⁰ His loyalty to the memory of his ancestors' persecutions fueled a hatred and distrust of the Catholic French even after the Franco-American Alliance. This was something his Loyalist brother James was quite willing to attempt to use in undermining that alliance during the peace negotiations in 1782. According to Edmond Genet's memoirs, James claimed that John "hated France as much as his ancestors who were Huguenots."¹³¹ The possible detriment caused by John Jay's sentiments, were something not lost on one of his fellow negotiators, John Adams. He confided with Ben Franklin that "Mr. Jay likes Frenchmen as little as Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard did."¹³² Another case of perceived anti-Catholic French hostility was recounted by French Sous-Lieutenant Nicolas De Barneville. He asserted that the Huguenot descendants refused to cooperate with the allied French troops because of religion. De Barneville also claimed that the negative image of the French had been formed by "numerous French refugees."¹³³

John Jay's anti-Catholic passions were counterbalanced at times by his more ecumenical, fellow alumnus Gouverneur Morris, this despite their lifelong friendship. Morris, the future penman of the US Constitution, first served as a Colonial militiaman

¹³⁰ William Jay, *The Life of John Jay volume I* (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1833), 1-19.

¹³¹ Jay, *The Selected Papers of John Jay, Volume 3, 1782-1784*.

¹³² Adams, *John Adams I 1735-1784*, 540-541.

¹³³ Gigantino, 101n21.

and later did journeyman work in securing support for the Continental Army. He would oppose Jay's efforts to restrict Catholic beliefs in the New York Constitution in order to prevent "divided loyalties."¹³⁴ Morris would prefer using French to English and during the American Revolution; French officers were impressed with his fluency in it.¹³⁵ Another alumnus, Phillip Schulyer, was of predominantly Dutch ancestry, yet grew up in a world of Huguenot-influenced commerce, and profited from his time at New Rochelle with a thorough knowledge of the French language.¹³⁶ Huguenot John Pintard was another New Rochelle Patriot and merchant, specializing in the Madeira trade, and he would rely upon his family connections with the Jays to secure an appointment as minister to Spain.¹³⁷

One New York City resident, Huguenot Samuel Provoost, did not let his position as an Anglican priest prevent him from supporting the Patriot cause. He would later serve as a chaplain to the Continental Congress, and rose to even greater prominence after the war. A New Jersey Huguenot, by way of New York and Pennsylvania, Mary Valleau Bancroft, played a probable, critical role in the early, darkest days of American Revolution. While living in Philadelphia she befriended fellow Huguenot, Daniel Roberdeau. Due to her refuge heritage, and her ability to communicate with Hessian

¹³⁴ John Jay, *The Selected Papers of John Jay Volume 1 1760-1779*, ed. Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, and Jennifer E. Steenshorne (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press), 375.

¹³⁵ William Howard Adams, *Gouverneur Morris: An Independent Life* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2003), 15.

¹³⁶ Benson J. Lossing, *The Life and Times of Phillip Schulyer* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 64-66.

¹³⁷ Jay, *The Selected Papers of John Jay, Volume 3, 1782-1784*.

Colonel Carol von Donop in their common language of French, some researchers consider her likely the “exceedingly beautiful young widow of a doctor” described in the diary of Jäger Captain Johannes Ewald.¹³⁸ Mrs. Bancroft was likely attempting to persuade Colonel von Donop to restrain his soldiers from pillaging her hometown of Mount Holly, New Jersey. Her charms helped detain Colonel von Donop overnight on Christmas of 1776, 18 miles from his garrison in Bordentown, and too far away to support Hessian Colonel Rall during Washington’s Christmas crossing of the Delaware River, and the successful assault on Trenton, New Jersey. The decisive battle there was small in scale, but huge in the beneficial impact it had on the morale of the beleaguered Patriot forces.

However, New York and New Jersey were colonies that “generally” followed the Anglican versus Calvinist model, with some notable exceptions like elements of New Rochelle. A significant factor in this is likely the fact that Anglicans were only the established church in four counties of New York.¹³⁹ The powerful, Huguenot-descended De Lancey family (and their allies such as the De Peyster family) were firmly entrenched with both Anglicanism and supported the Loyalist cause, to the point of raising several Loyalist units, to include De Lancey’s Cowboys and the De Lancey Brigade. The De Lancey family also produced a daughter with remarkable connections across the Patriot-Loyalist divide at even at the highest levels: Alice De Lancey Izard. If the Huguenot

¹³⁸ Dennis Rizzo and Alixia McShuklis, “The Widow Who Saved a Revolution,” Garden State Legacy, December 2012, accessed 27 January 2016, http://www.gardenstatelegacy.com/files/The_Widow_Who_Saved_a_Revolution_Rizzo_McShuklis_GSL18_PRINT.pdf.

¹³⁹ Phillips, 194-201.

Illuminati actually existed, Alice De Lancey Izard easily could have been its principal agent provocateur. Her marriage, though apparently a love match, was an alliance of two powerful Huguenot families, the New York De Lanceys and the South Carolina Izards. This relationship was to have political implications even before the Revolution when her husband's friend John Rutledge would defend the killer of her brother, killed during a "duel" following a political argument with a "Liberty Boy," during the Haley-De Lancey trial.¹⁴⁰ Alice's loyalties stayed with her husband's throughout the war, and she knew and often corresponded with George Washington.¹⁴¹ She also exchanged letters with another influential Huguenot merchant and Patriot, Henry Laurens.¹⁴²

Pennsylvania produced a large handful of interesting Huguenots during the Revolutionary War. The Presbyterian siblings Elias and Annis Boudinot-Stockton, both later of New Jersey, the amazing Esther de Brendt-Reed, and the Quaker Anthony Benzet, will all be discussed in the following chapter. The remaining trio includes Jacob Duché, the man who unfortunately earned the title "Benedict Arnold of the Clergy." Duché, an Anglican Priest, was the man wisely chosen by Sam Adams to lead a prayer after the Declaration of Independence was signed, a masterful move of ecumenical information operations in a rebellion composed of many passionate creeds.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Barry, 134.

¹⁴¹ Founders Online, "To George Washington from Alice De Lancey Izard, 25 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-02-02-0275>.

¹⁴² Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens: Volume 9: April 19, 1773-Dec. 12, 1774*, 306.

¹⁴³ Kevin J. Dellape, *America's First Chaplain, The Life and Times of Reverend Jacob Duché* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2013), 2.

Unfortunately, Duché began to despair of the Patriots' chances after the British occupation of Philadelphia and also had concerns about the possible alliance with Catholic France. Taking counsel from these fears he wrote a letter to George Washington urging reconciliation with the British. This act resulted in an infamous exile to England for the former Patriotic hero.

Abraham Markoe was a Danish subject, by way of his Huguenot ancestors who settled in St. Croix in the Danish West Indies and prospered there. Though sympathetic to the Patriot cause, he was prevented from fighting the war by Danish neutrality in the conflict, though this did not stop him from raising the Philadelphia Light Horse, a unit that served with distinction throughout the Revolution. A final Philadelphia Huguenot was Paul Fooks, who was a prisoner during the British occupation of his native city, and was later an interpreter to Continental Congress. Prussian volunteer Baron Frederick William de Woedtke would recommend Fook's services in his July 1776 letter to Benjamin Franklin relating the recent Patriot debacle at Fort Crown Point (once written off by Huguenot John Montessor following a fire) and Mount Independence. "*Si ma letter vous intrresse Monsieur et que vous ne pouvez la lire Mr. paul faiks Interpret vous la lira tout de suite.*"¹⁴⁴ Paul Fooks would offer his services to the Continental Congress in the following petition:

That your petitioner, having served under the former, and having been continued under the present Government of this State, in the office of Notary Publick and Interpreter of the *French* and *Spanish* languages, and being zealous to serve the righteous cause of *American* liberty to the utmost of his abilities, he presumes to offer his services to this honourable House, as their Interpreter for the

¹⁴⁴ Founders Online, "To Benjamin Franklin from Frederick William de Woedtke, 3 July 1776," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Paul%20Fooks&s=1111311111&sa=&r=1&sr=>.

said languages. If he has the honour to be employed in this station, he flatters himself he may be useful, as many foreigners who daily arrive here are at a loss for such assistance.¹⁴⁵

The Southern Patriciate

In the Coastal South, there was no shortage of Huguenot descendants on both sides of the rebellion. The majority of Huguenot-descended, colonial leadership there, from Virginia through the Carolinas, were still publically affiliated with the Church of England. Virginia had long been a destination of Huguenots since the founding of Jamestown and Yorktown. Later Huguenots settled in Manakin Town in 1700 after a petition to the Governor of Virginia.¹⁴⁶ They eventually spread throughout the province, becoming the friends, neighbors, and through marriage the eventual relatives of numerous First Families of Virginia, with English names like Washington, Nelson, and Lee masking French ancestors along maternal lines.

The famed Patriot orator, Patrick Henry, would see his daughter Martha marry into the distinguished Fontaine family. Henry, a non-Huguenot with ties to both the Anglicans and Presbyterians through his father and mother, would live and interact among numerous Huguenots, to include the Sublette, Trabue, Ammonette, and Sallé families.¹⁴⁷ A failed storekeeper and frustrated tavern owner, he rose to fame defending the interests of local farmers against the claims of Irish Huguenot and Anglican priest, the

¹⁴⁵ American Archives, "Petition of Paul Fooks to Congress." American Archives, Documents of the American Revolutionary Period, 1774-1776, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://amarch.lib.niu.edu/islandora/object/niu-amarch%3A96243>.

¹⁴⁶ The National Humanities Center, "Petition of the French Refugees to the Governor of Virginia, 1700" accessed 13 September 2015, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/growth/text4/frenchvirginia.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ Meade, 304.

Reverend James Maury. His prominence and politics would gain him the enmity of another Huguenot, a member of the distinguished Fauquier family of bankers, Lieutenant Governor Francis Fauquier of Virginia.¹⁴⁸ The Huguenots also influenced a young Thomas Jefferson, to include his early instruction under Reverend Maury and his youthful friendship with Governor Fauquier. Jefferson, arguably, also owed his freedom, and perhaps his life, to the 1781 ride of Jack Jouett that warned him and the rest of the Virginia legislators of the impending arrival of British troops.

Yet the liberty that many Virginians espoused was less a radical rule of the masses and more a reasoned approach under the strong leadership provided by a select group of distinguished men of means. The desired end state being a sort of aristocratic republic with the landed gentry as the patriciate. Present day glimpses of this ideal exist in the Electoral College, and it could be observed in the 1700s as well in the vestries that ran the Anglican Church in Virginia and along the rest of British North America, all outwardly Episcopal in form and heritage, but in fact run by respected elders little different from their Presbyterian neighbors. If Congregationalist New England and Scots-Irish Presbyterians publically feared the creation of an Anglican Bishop in North America, Low Church Anglicans, led by vestrymen like Washington and Jefferson, feared it only slightly less. The result was the Anglicans were the only European church to fail to transfer its form of government to the New World.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Harlow Giles Unger, *Lion of Liberty, Patrick Henry and the Call to a New Nation* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2010), 5, 71.

¹⁴⁹ Butler, *Religion in Colonial America*, 100.

The religious affiliation of the Huguenot descendants in the coastal Carolinas, and especially South Carolina in and around Charleston, was also highly slanted in favor of the Anglican Church. A majority of Huguenot families in the colonial, lowland, South Carolina gentry, men with obvious French names as Laurens, Horry, Huger, Manigault, and Moultrie, were affiliated with the Anglican Church, despite their families' Calvinistic origins. They enjoyed success in both business and politics, providing another example of the Huguenots' ability to succeed through acculturation. In South Carolina, the Church of England became the established church, so that "the Huguenot descendants, who might have been expected to resist the establishment, saw the wisdom of joining the tax supported state church."¹⁵⁰

Another important factor was the Lords Proprietor's intent that Huguenot immigrants should receive, through a combination of denization (receiving the privileges of an Englishman) and naturalization (receiving the rights of an Englishman), the ability to vote and hold political office. These factors resulted in the Anglican-Huguenot alliance in 1704 gaining control of the South Carolina Commons House and Council. This alliance passed the South Carolina Church Act of 1704, withdrawing legal recognition from marriages performed by dissenting ministers. This action would have no doubt horrified many of their Huguenot ancestors, to say nothing of any hypothetical, distant cousins hiding in the mountains of Cévennes, France, while listening to a Reformed pastor preach to them in secret during the ongoing War of the Camisards.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Brenda Fay Roth, "The French Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina: Assimilation or Acculturation?" (Master's Thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, 1984), 10-11.

¹⁵¹ Milner, 486.

This Anglican-Huguenot religious and political base around Charleston did not happen overnight, and it did not take place without resistance. The large number of refugees that settled in and around Charleston meant several “French” churches existed in the area. Many of these were of the Reformed tradition, with assistance provided by other Huguenot congregations such as the Threadneedle Church in England. Eventually almost all of these were absorbed into the dominant Anglican community, with only one “French Huguenot Church” surviving in Charleston to the present day.¹⁵² A combination of factors contributed to this decline: the aforementioned desire to assimilate into the establishment; the failure of the scattered, French Reformed Church to provide adequate ministers to the colonies; and a remarkable lack of conformity in doctrine. In short, the French churches in Charleston, the Santee, or the Orange Quarter found it increasingly difficult to find pastors, and when they did it was highly probable that they would find him espousing personal viewpoints on theology that would offend or alienate his congregation.

An example of this was Paul L’Escot who was hired from Geneva to minister the French church in Charleston. An intellectual who corresponded with exiled Huguenot ministers in Berlin and London, he ended up denouncing attempts to preserve traditional French worship and expressed sympathies with the Church of England that caused a decade of turmoil in his congregation.¹⁵³ Other French ministers either shared L’Escot’s Anglican’s sympathies or lacked the willingness to resist the Anglican Church’s drive

¹⁵² French Protestant (Huguenot) Church, “Welcome,” accessed 11 September 2015, <http://www.huguenot-church.org/>.

¹⁵³ Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 111-113.

towards conformity. Some, like James Gignilliat of St. James Santee Parish and the Dublin-educated Francis Le Jau of Orange Quarter, received their ordination from the Church and England and actively encouraged their congregations to embrace Anglicanism. This ecumenical view was accelerated by the fact that, despite outside help from French Protestant churches in England, the dwindling Huguenot congregations were hard-pressed financially to recruit and then support their ministers. The Anglican churches held coffers that were effectively limitless in comparison, backed by the provincial government's treasury. This incentive caused both the Orange and Santee congregations to recognize Anglican authority and the liturgy and, in return, their ministers received a salary from the South Carolina Government.

One indicator of the Huguenots' willingness to conform was the creation of St. Denis Parish at the Orange Quarter, a parish defined by the use of the French language inside a larger, English-speaking St. Thomas Parish, resulting in "the first and only linguistically defined parish ever created in the American colonies."¹⁵⁴ Its creation is also an indicator of the important role the Anglicans felt that the Huguenots had contributed to establishing church conformity in South Carolina. It can also be viewed as a reward for the demonstrated loyalty of Huguenot militia to their English neighbors, this in helping repel a combined French and Spanish invasion force that attacked around Charleston, to include Seewee Bay and James Island, in 1706.¹⁵⁵ This loyalty did not prevent many laymen from resisting Anglicanism, with its differing rituals and liturgy, multiple times from 1703 to 1720.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 119.

¹⁵⁵ Burke and Edgar.

The ongoing war in the Cévennes gave this ecumenical movement more emphasis as refugees from that conflict fled to London, armed with new beliefs that spread to the Carolinas, beliefs that frightened both conformist and nonconformist congregations. These beliefs were espoused by the French Prophets, who spoke in tongues, preached millennialism, and claimed the power to raise the dead. The SPG in Foreign Parts produced pamphlets attacking the Prophets that were distributed in South Carolina, but their views were adopted by some of the poorer members of the Huguenot parishes. But this resistance was not enough to combat the mutually supporting power of South Carolina's political and religious authorities. A final blow to nonconformity came with the "Dutarte Affair," a bizarre event that began with the John Dutarte proclaiming his son-in-law Peter Rombert a prophet, marrying and impregnating his daughter, then fatally shooting the magistrate who came to arrest him. His arrest and execution "signaled the end of significant Huguenot protest against Anglican conformity in South Carolina."¹⁵⁶

The Huguenot descendants, while outwardly appearing submissive to the ecclesiastical authority of the Church of England, still maintained many French traditions. True they lost the offices of pastor, deacon, and elders, but many of them attempted to retain their language in church services, as South Carolina only required that translated French versions of the liturgy be used in services in French-speaking parishes. Many went a step further, using versions of the French Reformed Confession after 1730. Arlin Migliazzo accurately describes this as a "double identity dissent."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 120.

¹⁵⁷ Arlin C. Migliazzo, *To Make this Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732-1865* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 121.

Other than its French influence, South Carolina Anglicanism had aspects that separated it from its northern brethren. A reaction to the views of George Whitfield's "Great Awakening," with its radical view on New Light, actually strengthened a sense of unity among established Anglicans and Presbyterians who saw his teachings as a threat to orthodoxy in either denomination. This threat resulted in a sense of toleration between the established churches. Combined with a need to stand together against foreign threats like the French and the Native Americans, or financial threats from Britain, it resulted in a common ideology among the landed gentry that "reverberated into a lasting political and harmonious political and social ethos right through the revolutionary and into the early national and antebellum eras."¹⁵⁸ Further evidence of this new commonality can be seen in joint efforts in 1706 to alter the Church Act of 1704, which effectively disenfranchised Dissenters by allowing only Anglicans to sit in the commons. The new Church Act of 1706 allowed dissenters to sit in the Commons. The Dissenter population still worried an Anglican establishment, one that feared the loss of their prerogatives and tax base, but the two groups were now willing to find grounds of cooperation. The Church Act of 1706 helped to create an environment in which elites would find reasons to seek religious common ground.

If South Carolina became such a highly divided state during the American Revolution, with Anglicans and Huguenot descendants supporting both the Loyalist and the Patriot causes, the question arises: what combination of factors contributed to the split? One answer lies in practical matters revolving around money, or more accurately,

¹⁵⁸ Page Smith, *A New Age Now Begins* (New York: The McGraw Hill Book Company, 1977).

trade and land speculation that were a source of money. After the French and Indian War there were attempts by England to limit westward expansion by the North American colonies, preserving lands granted by treaty to the Cherokee, Iroquois, and other tribes who had stood by the British Crown against the French. The later *Navigation Acts*, from 1707 on, restricted trade between England and foreign lands, to include the American Colonies. Both of these British policies affected the pocketbooks of many Huguenot entrepreneurs in Charleston, families like the Laurens who were involved in Atlantic trade. Henry Laurens, like Virginian George Washington, was also keenly involved in land speculation. When the Revolution came financial interests may have outweighed both political and religious loyalty.

Another cause of split, so different from the “apparent” consensus in the northern colonies, comes in the nature of South Carolina, indeed Southern Anglicanism, affected by the inclusion of so many refugee Calvinists. The majority of coastal Huguenot refugees accepted, sometimes grudgingly, sometimes eagerly, the authority of the Church of England, all while still attempting to preserve elements of their cultural heritage. This obviously included, for a time, the use of the French language wrapped around a translated liturgy, but it also included a Calvinistic and Pietistic zeal that came to infuse the whole of the Anglican community, English and French speakers alike.

Merchant Henry Laurens was arguably one of the wealthiest men in the colonies after John Hancock. Laurens was an Anglican warden of St. Phillip’s Parish, who wrote about his refugee heritage, demonstrated a pietistic zeal, and successfully leveraged the system of transatlantic networks of the Huguenots for economic gain and family

advancement.¹⁵⁹ This can be observed in his actions such as sending his sons John “Jack” Laurens and Henry Jr. to an academy in Geneva Switzerland to be placed in the care of the Chauvet family. Accompanying them first to London, Laurens disapproved of London’s licentious nature. Using family connections, he arranged a letter of recommendation for the Geneva Academy through a Swiss Huguenot who was back in London as well, Augustine Prévost, late of the Royal Americans. Laurens wrote that “General Prévost . . . has in Terms explicit, full of Benevolence and sound Judgment advised and directed me in the Steps necessary to be taken in order to right a disposition of the two Boys.”¹⁶⁰

Henry later served the fledgling US in many capacities, to include President of the Continental Congress and as Minister to France, something that resulted in his capture by the British at sea and imprisonment until exchanged. His son John also served with a reckless distinction in the Revolution, his service including time opposing both Jacques and Augustine Prévost, who were now on opposing sides of the war, during campaigns in the Southern Department. John also spent years as an *aide-de-camp* to General George Washington, there becoming best friends with fellow Huguenot descendant Alexander Hamilton. Their corner of the mess table with the Marquis de Lafayette was known as the “French Corner” for its French conversations.

The French language was something John’s sister, Mary Eleanor, or “Molly,” Laurens, was also quite fluent in, having lived in Vigne, France. Her husband, Charles

¹⁵⁹ Henry Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 8: Oct.10, 1771-April 19, 1773*, ed. by David R. Chesnut (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 375.

Pickney, was quite proud of his “little French girl” in a letter to Rufus King.¹⁶¹ He later touted to James Madison “the French Language is properly her native tongue.”¹⁶² John Laurens also promoted the emancipation of African slaves, despite his family fortune resting in large part on the slave trade. This was a politically dangerous move in the American South, and was not congruent with the policy of the Anglican establishment there, but was perhaps more indicative of viewpoints that came courtesy of his Continental, Reformed education.

Huguenot connections would also play a part in the education of Francophone Henry Mouzon with beneficial results for the Patriots. Sent by his South Carolina family as a child to the renowned Sorbonne in Paris, he would become an expert engineer and surveyor. He used these skills to create an authoritative and highly accurate map of the Carolinas, carried by George Washington himself.¹⁶³ Mouzon would serve with his cousin, Francis Marion, someone who would arguably garner the greatest fame of all the South Carolina Huguenots. Marion’s actions as a guerilla leader and foil to Green Dragoon Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton would make him the stuff of legend as the “Swamp Fox.” These actions also complemented the feats of backcountry Huguenots and

¹⁶¹ Williams, 238.

¹⁶² Founders Online, “To James Madison from Charles Pinckney, 6 August 1791.”

¹⁶³ Henry Mouzon, “An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers, Shewing in a distinct manner all the Mountains, Rivers, Swamps, Marshes, Bays, Creeks, Harbours, Sandbanks and Soundings on the Coasts, with The Roads and Indian Paths; as well as The Boundary or Provincial Lines, The Several Townships and other divisions of the Land in Both the Provinces; the whole from Actual Surveys by Henry Mouzon and Others,” North Carolina Maps, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/125>.

their Scots-Irish kin to pressure the British forces of General Cornwallis out of the Carolinas and towards their eventual defeat at Yorktown.

Banastre Tarleton reportedly developed a hatred of the Huguenots to the point that he burnt down Mouzon's plantation in retaliation, not just for his actions but also his ancestry. There is some element of truth to Tarleton's hatred, many Carolina Patriots were Huguenots, yet not all Carolina Huguenots were Patriots. Joseph and Gabriel Manigault would sit out the war from the relative safety of London, only to return after its conclusion. Andrew Deveaux would first serve as a Continental soldier, but partisan actions against his Loyalist father, in what had become a civil war, drove him to the Loyalist cause. First serving as an officer under Augustine Prévost, he later led a Loyalist expedition from Saint Augustine that used subterfuge to capture the Bahamas without firing a shot. Deveaux's Loyalism contrasted against the patriotism of Militia Colonel Peter Horry, or even Ralph Izard, the husband of Alice De Lancey-Izard, who pledged his own fortune to serve the Patriot cause.

The Huger family provided a handful of Patriot officers during the Revolution. These officers included Benjamin Huger, who would first greet the young Marquis de Lafayette when his ship reached the Carolina shores.¹⁶⁴ There is something poetic in the French Catholic aristocrat, late of His Majesty's Guard of Musketeers and welcomed at the French Court, warmly embraced by a member of the Lowcountry gentry, himself descended from Protestant ancestors who fled Catholic France in exile. Huger and Lafayette would begin a friendship that ended only with Huger's death by friendly fire.

¹⁶⁴ Harlow Giles Unger, *Lafayette* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2002), 31-34.

This friendship also formed a family bond that would survive years after the war's conclusion, through the agency of Huger son, Francis. With Lafayette's arrival in America the future French Corner of Washington's mess tent was complete. He would soon meet, and win the devout friendship of, Huguenots John Laurens and Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton himself was a product of the other major stream of Huguenot refugees to North America, to be covered in the following chapter: the Calvinists.

CHAPTER 4

THE CALVINISTS

You have heard of the Huguenot war in France? Well, what there was Religion, is here Liberty—fanaticism both!¹⁶⁵

— Hessian Jaeger Captain Johann Heinrich,
in his letter to Professor Schloezer

Guns, Money, Philosophy, and some Renegade Frenchmen

Calvinism, like Anglicanism, was the religious affiliation adhered to by one of the two major streams of Huguenots coming to North America in the 18th Century. The Calvinist stream had three main tributaries. The Reformed version existed throughout Continental Europe, in France, Switzerland, German-speaking Europe, the Netherlands, and parts of Bohemia, Hungary, Romania, and even Poland. Closely related to the Reformed branch was its Presbyterian cousin, this relationship a result of John Knox's tutelage under John Calvin, which held dominance in Scotland and parts of Ireland (especially in and around Ulster). More distinct was the English version, Congregationalism, a branch of Calvinism that upheld the independence of individual churches over any central or federal polity.

Before the first Huguenot or Walloon ever saw the shores of North America, Calvinism was already shaping the events that would lead to the American Revolution through revolutionary ideas. The obvious example was Calvinism's system of church government, a ready-made (if somewhat patriarchal) model for designers of nascent

¹⁶⁵ Heinrichs, 137.

republics. Another is the Calvinist idea of the right of resistance against unjust rulers who did not uphold God's natural laws. A third, more subtle idea, was the Calvinist tenant that honest work was of Godly value in-and-of itself. These are three distinct but highly interrelated concepts, for if we accept Clausewitz's dictum, simplified here to "war is an extension of diplomacy by other means," then we should also accept Frezza's corollary, that "politics is an extension of economics by other means."¹⁶⁶ Calvin's ideas would be expounded-on over centuries by writers Philippe Du Mornay, Pierre Bayle, John Locke, and even Max Weber (himself a Huguenot descendant through his mother). Collectively, they would also begin a chain of effects from France to places like Netherlands and Scotland and on to America. These then-radical concepts, and the information (to include cultural, educational, and psychological) effects they produced, were of an indirect nature, but it is indirect in the sense and proportion of a massive "artillery barrage" that figuratively "prepped" the sum of American battlefields.

Back in France, the Camisards, the valiant peasant army that resisted the French Army in the Cévennes, was only a relatively small percentage of the larger group of French Protestants who did not choose exile. The Camisards' chief impact beyond France, with a few exceptions like Jean Cavalier's later service in the British Army, was inspirational in nature. It also included the message of the French Prophets, carried by later exiles, that was often a source of consternation for older exile communities from London to Charleston. The vast majority of the remaining French Protestants accepted the wisdom, even if received at sword point, of converting back to the Roman Catholic

¹⁶⁶ Robert Frezza, *A Small Colonial War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 167.

Church. As one of the *Nouveaux Convertis* remarked about raising his daughter as a Catholic, “I am sending her to Babylon, but there are good lodgings there.”¹⁶⁷

The ranks of *Nouveaux Convertis* would produce an asset to the Patriot cause in Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais. If Beaumarchais had been a modern-day creation of a Hollywood screenplay, he would be difficult to believe. This comparison is appropriate as he was both an actor and highly successful playwright himself, along with being an inventor and spy. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the essential, clandestine aid Beaumarchais managed to direct to the Continental Army before Franklin achieved a formal alliance with France. To accomplish this he assumed the role of unseen Spanish owner of a dummy training company headquartered in the former residence of the Dutch ambassador, something previously used, as *de jure* foreign soil, for clandestine Huguenot weddings and other religious services.¹⁶⁸ In 1782, he even convinced Vice Admiral Charles Hector, Comte d’Estaing that French Calvinists be allowed to demonstrate their Patriotism. This demonstrated by providing local, Protestant members for a committee, in the port of Bordeaux, that was leading a subscription campaign intended to raise funds to replace losses of French naval vessels during the war. Despite the Admiral’s courage to do so, local Catholics rejected the ecumenical proposal out of hand.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ David Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom, 1685-1789* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 40.

¹⁶⁸ Joel Richard Paul, *Unlikely Allies: How a Merchant, a Playwright and a Spy Saved the American Revolution* (New York: Penguin Group, 2009).

¹⁶⁹ Adams, *Huguenots and French Opinion 1685-1787, The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration*, 258-259.

Another renegade Frenchman was Quebecois Pierre du Calvet of Quebec. Despite the early and significant Huguenot participation in the exploration of New France, the Jesuits had banned the further immigration of Protestants there in 1632. Du Calvet was one of the minority Quebec Huguenots that secretly persevered for generations, even to the present day, in an often-hostile environment that had made it counterproductive for Protestants to advertise their heritage.¹⁷⁰ It was political, not religious, differences that would bring him into contention with the new British masters of Canada. Du Calvet was a vocal supporter of the Patriot cause and warmly received General Richard Montgomery during the American expedition to attack Montreal. Mathematician, lawyer, and Quebec attorney general Francis Maseres often supported du Calvet's in his endeavors to uphold the British Constitution. Maseres, while not a Patriot per se, did espouse the Protestant cause versus the Catholics, this bias and his fluent French courtesy of his parents' exile from France to England. Du Calvet's fellow *Quebecois* and Huguenot, the merchant Pierre Guerout, did not share his Calvet's Patriot sympathies and helped organize Montreal's Loyalists in defense against Montgomery's expedition. Du Calvet's political leanings resulted in his arrest being ordered by British Brigadier General Allan MacLean, only to be later released (though three years later) by another Huguenot, Quebec governor and Swiss Huguenot Frederick Haldimand.

Haldimand was part of a strong Swiss Huguenot connection to Colonial North America and American Revolution. The efforts and legacy of the Royal American Regiment have already been touched upon, as has the talent of the SPG in transforming

¹⁷⁰ Michel Barbeau, "Our Huguenot Ancestors," 21 June 1998, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://pages.infinit.net/barbeaum/huga/>.

French Reformed pastors from Switzerland into Anglican priests in North America. But there were other influences as well. The Prévost-Laurens connection is one, yet another was Henry de Saussure, relative of a prominent Swiss Huguenot family and South Carolina Patriot. A further Swiss influence was the interior settlement of Purrysburg, South Carolina. Purrysburg was founded by Monsieur Jean Pierre Purry of Neuchatel, a former Director-General of the French East India Company. Purrysburg included many French immigrants who were among the thousands of refugees who fled to Switzerland after the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*.¹⁷¹ In early 1779, during the Revolutionary War, Purrysburg served as a headquarters for General Benjamin Lincoln of the Continental Army as he kept watch on British forces in both Savannah and Augusta, Georgia. By May of that year, it was commanded by Continental Colonel William Moultrie during British General Augustine Prévost's assault on Charleston. Purrysburg also had one other connection to the American Revolution, as Jean Pierre Purry's granddaughter, Eleanor, married Patriot and future US Congressman, John Bull.

The Dutch reformation would bring America Calvinist ideas, Huguenot settlements, and soldiers. Calvin, Breza, and du Mornay first nurtured these Calvinist ideas in France and Switzerland. Later philosophers like Bayle and Jurieu, utilizing French refugee printing presses in the Netherlands, would facilitate the spread of ideas that sprang from the Republic of Letters. As acknowledged in the preceding chapter, the Reformed colonies of New Netherlands often shifted into Anglican enclaves under the temptations of British rule. The Dutch Huguenots, like the Swiss Huguenots, often were

¹⁷¹ J. D. Lewis, "The German/Swiss (Palatine) Settlers During the Royal Period (1729 to 1775)," *The Royal Colony of South Carolina*, accessed 11 January 2016, http://www.carolana.com/SC/Royal_Colony/sc_royal_colony_german_swiss.html.

no more immune to the influence of the Anglican Church than any inhabitant of the Spitalfields within earshot of the bells of Christ Church. One notable exception was in New Paltz, New York, a Reformed and Patriot stronghold, and exemplified by the service of Patriot Colonel Lewis Dubois.¹⁷² Like their Swiss brethren, the Dutch Huguenots' influence to the American Revolution seems to be an indirect one of immaterial ideals, and the legacy of very material settlers and soldiers.

Germans from Many Lands

As noted in the introductory chapter, Protestant German princes from Prussia to parts of Franconia had taken advantage of Louis XIV's revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* and invited thousands of French refugees to their lands, a wise policy of apparent altruism that helped their respective economies with skilled labor. King George III, also the Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg, was himself a Huguenot descendant through his romantically tragic grandmother Sophia Dorothea of Celle, her mother Éléonore d'Olbreuse, and even Louise de Coligny. His grandfather, Duke and Elector Georg-Wilhelm, was an avid proponent of this receptive policy, to the point that his sister-in-law, Sophie, Electress of Hannover, would bitterly remark "the Court of Celle is completely French."¹⁷³ This immigration had the unforeseen result during the

¹⁷² Joseph Howell, "Account of Lewis DuBois (Certification of Service and Settlement of Pay for Colonel Lewis Dubois of the 5th New York Regiment, 5 June 1794)," Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/docimage.php?id=10609&docCoIID=11640>.

¹⁷³ Andreas Flick, "'The court at Celle...is completely French' Huguenot Soldiers in the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg," in *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713*, ed. Michael Glozier and David Onnedick (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 195.

Revolutionary War, with officers like the extremely capable Johann Christian du Buy, of the Regiment von Bose, sent to fight against men with names like Marion and Revere.¹⁷⁴ Another military effect took place outside the main North American theater of combat. In 1779, after entering the war on the American side, Spain laid siege to the British forces at Gibraltar. Opposing them were three battalions from the Duchy of Hannover, there to free up British soldiers for service overseas, to include the Regiment La Motte, and with Huguenot August de la Motte in overall command. The Hanoverians withstood a siege that lasted over three-and-half-years, earning honors for their battalions and with George III, in his capacity as Hanoverian head of state, personally promoting August de la Motte to Lieutenant General.

Under the House of Hohenzollern, Brandenburg-Prussia received, by far, the largest percentage of the roughly 25,000 Huguenot refugees to German-speaking Europe, as high as 80 percent of that total.¹⁷⁵ Frederick the Great, another Huguenot descendant through Louise de Coligny, also followed the American Revolution with interest. The Franconian branch of the Hohenzollern family followed suit with regards to the refugees, with Christian Ernst, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, sponsoring a Huguenot colony in Erlangen. Such an influx has led to discussions of the possible Huguenot connections of German-born Patriots like the Prussian Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben and Erlangen native Johann de Kalb. Both men were fluent French speakers, but such language skills were a requirement among the upper classes, especially in the military, and both men

¹⁷⁴ Rodney Attwood, *The Hessians, Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 138-141.

¹⁷⁵ Gwynn, 1-10.

were also not above adjusting their ancestry to facilitate their advancement, in a European officer corps dominated by the aristocracy. Given this background of dubious lineages, it is best to file the possible Huguenot connections of these two Patriots as “possible, but of undetermined probability.” More certain is the Huguenot heritage of the Alsatian Michael Hillegas, who became the first treasurer of the US, preceding Alexander Hamilton who was the first Secretary of the Treasury, and also the Hanoverian John Lewis Gervais, a South Carolina Patriot and reputed author of the anonymous and seditious 1775 book, *American Husbandry*.¹⁷⁶

The Huguenot refugees’ settlement in the Rhineland-Pfalz region bordering the Rhine River was eventually to have a large impact, not just on the Huguenots, but on immigration to America in general. The Palatinate was the fief of the Counts Palatine who were also Electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Leadership of this region traditionally was contested between princes who championed, to varying degrees, the virtues of the Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed faith. Sometimes this was with tragic results, such as experienced by Calvinist champion Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and erstwhile Winter King of Bohemia, who died at the Battle of White Mountain. Traditionally this shifting of religious affiliation was done at the expense of the members of any religious denominations that did not share the faith of the ruler. This was accepted under the provision of the 1634 Treaty of Westphalia of “*curio region, eius religio*,” that the religion of the ruler was the religion of his subjects.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Scott Davies, “The Mystery Book and the Forgotten Founding Father,” *The Journal of the American Revolution*, 17 July 2014, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://allthingsliberty.com/2014/07/the-mystery-book-and-the-forgotten-founding-father/>.

The Palatine Elector, Count Karl Ludwig, had also invited the Huguenots to settle in the Palatinate after the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*, in part to use their labor and skills to help restore the prosperity to land decimated by the tribulations of the Thirty Years War. The result was many Palatines with names like Aingere, Belligut, Berrier, Ferrier, Nobellet, and Taissoux. A connection further demonstrated as Huguenots from the Palatinate later founded the settlement of New Paltz (Pfalz) on the Hudson in 1678.¹⁷⁷ In the particular case of the Palatine-Huguenots, this noble attempt to turn the mutual misfortune into mutual good fortune was a short-lived experiment. Successive, destructive wars with the Duke of Lorraine and Louis XIV of France were soon followed by the dynastic succession of the Catholic Johann Wilhelm as the new Elector. Johan Wilhelm took advantage of the disputes and resulting discord between local Lutherans and Reformed denominations to establish Roman Catholicism as the sole, official faith of the Rhineland-Pfalz through the Peace of Rijswick in 1697.

The result of the new Elector Palatine's policy was forced conversions, to include children taken from their parents, churches taken over, and eventually subjects driven away. Huguenots who had been invited by Karl Ludwig were again turned into refugees, along with their fellow Palatines.¹⁷⁸ Some of these 'Poor Palatines' ended up in England under the policy endorsed by a sympathetic Queen Anne. About 3000 Palatines settled in Ireland, mostly as farmers, particularly in Adare and Rathkeale in County Limerick, and

¹⁷⁷ Carlo, 1-15.

¹⁷⁸ Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot Company), 1901.

in the counties of Claire and Limerick.¹⁷⁹ Many more Palatines eventually settled in Colonial America. In fact, so many Palatines came to America that the term “Palatine” became something of a misnomer, often used interchangeably to describe any German-speaking settler.

However, strictly speaking, there were no “German” migrations to North America, prior to, or nearly a century after, the American Revolution, as the nation of Germany did not exist until 1871. The British government used the simple expedient of defining ethnicity by the language, and lumped together colonists from places diverse as Switzerland, the Rhineland-Palatinate, and Moravia. The total number of all other German-speaking immigrants paled in comparison to the large number of Palatines who fled from the troubles in the Rhineland-Pfalz. In the early 1700s, thousands of Palatines migrated to Pennsylvania. This migration included acculturated Huguenots like the De Turk and de Benneville families, which settled near Oley, Berk County, and the Feree family, which settled in Lancaster County.¹⁸⁰ Later, during the American Revolution, several members of all three families were active Patriots, and served as soldiers and politicians. Jacob Feree was a noted gunsmith and manufacturer of gunpowder for the

¹⁷⁹ Tom Upshaw, “A Short History of the Palatines,” accessed 27 January 2016, <http://www.teskey.org/palhist.html>.

¹⁸⁰ George G. Struble, “The French Element Among the Pennsylvania Germans,” accessed 27 January 2016, <https://journals.psu.edu/phj/article/viewFile/22432/22201>, 266-276.

Continental Army.¹⁸¹ Daniel de Benneville served as a sergeant in the 13th Virginia Regiment.¹⁸²

The increasing numbers of these German-speakers alarmed many colonists, who in 1727 required all “Palatines” to swear an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown. It also led Benjamin Franklin to ponder, “Why should Pennsylvania, founded by Englishmen, suffer to become a colony of foreigners who shortly will be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of Anglifying them?”¹⁸³ This large migration into Pennsylvania soon spread down through Maryland and Virginia and into the Carolina backcountry, the most notable settlement being Baron De Graffenreid’s settlement of both Palatines and Swiss at New Bern, North Carolina. From 1740 to 1755, a large number of Palatines, to include intermarried Huguenots, settled in South Carolina around Orangeburg, Watertee, and Congaree. This part of a settlement pattern that stretched from Pennsylvania down into the Carolina Piedmont. In this pattern Palatines tended to alternate settlements, and even whole counties, with the Scots-Irish who were concurrently migrating into the same lands.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Daughters of the American Revolution, “Who was Jacob Ferree,” accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~pajfcdar/ChapterHistory.html>.

¹⁸² War Department, “Certification of Pay and Service for Daniel De Benneville, late Sergeant of the 13th Virginia Regiment,” Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=8789>.

¹⁸³ Founders Online, “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, 1751,” Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 13 September 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0080>.

¹⁸⁴ Leyburn, 190.

Differences in language and temperament kept their contact to the minimum. There were also occasional disputes. However, any mutual antagonisms of the various Germans and Scots-Irish had never approached the high levels of downright hatred the Scots-Irish reciprocated with the Quakers in Pennsylvania.¹⁸⁵ The Palatines also shared a Calvinistic heritage with the Scots-Irish, unlike some other German-speaking groups. The denominational affiliation among different groups of German-speaking colonists would matter greatly during the American Revolution. Many Lutherans, with some notable exceptions, were Loyalists or uneasy neutrals. This decision was often based on their unwillingness to break their oath of loyalty to the British King and their refusal to take oaths of loyalty to the new, local governments.

Many Palatines tended to lean towards the Patriot cause. The greatest name of either Palatine or Palatine-Huguenot origin renown was that of northern General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the Battle of Oriskany, Herkimer a Huguenot descendant through his mother Catherine Petrie.¹⁸⁶ Other Palatines, to include the Huguenots among them, tended to assume roles that were less the famous and more the follower and junior leader than their distant, English speaking, cousins. An example of this is the modest, yet honorable, service which Captain William Turk gave the young republic. Turk served through the Siege of Augusta, and under various Patriot commanders. These commanders included one General Andrew Pickens, who would both praise and commend Turk's

¹⁸⁵ Phillips, 199-200.

¹⁸⁶ William H. Barker, *Early Families of Herkimer County New York, Descendants of the Burnetsfield Palatines* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2001), 15, 191.

service.¹⁸⁷ Andrew Pickens also shared Turk's French refugee ancestry, but his Huguenot ancestors were part of another large migration, that of the Scots-Irish, to be covered after their cousins, the Scots.

Scots from Scotland and other warmer Locales

England received the majority of the estimated 50,000 Huguenot refugees who settled in the British Isles, including many families that eventually migrated to the Carolinas and participated in the American Revolution. England, though the principal choice, was not the only British option for Protestant refugees from France. Wales also received few French Protestant immigrants, limited mainly to the town of Fleur-de-lis in the Rhymney Valley. Scotland would have actually seemed the best, most natural refuge for the Huguenots. Scotland and France had, prior to the Protestant Reformation, been allies for centuries under the Auld Alliance. The French Reformed Church shared much doctrine with the Scottish Presbyterian Church. John Knox had studied under Calvin, spoke French fluently, and even spent time as a French galley slave. He also considered the city of Geneva under Jean Calvin an ideal example of a Christian community. Scottish philosopher John Locke was also a keen follower of the Huguenots. This chain of shared philosophies and ideas was to have profound effects not just in Scotland, but also throughout the British Isles and the entire transatlantic world, to include England and English colonials championing their "rights as Englishmen" despite any polyglot ancestry to the contrary.

¹⁸⁷ William Turk, "Pension Application of William Turk," Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Applications and Rosters, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://www.revwarapps.org/w4357.pdf>.

Despite these connections, Scotland actually received relatively few Huguenot refugees, about 400 in all, who often worked as spinners and weavers in the linen industry.¹⁸⁸ Their settlements were limited principally to the Canongate area in the outer suburbs of Edinburgh and the weavers' colony of Picardy.¹⁸⁹ Another Scottish-Huguenot connection was military, prior to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 many Scots Presbyterian and French Huguenot refugees served together in regiments of the Dutch Republic, to the extent that in 1689 King William of England considered a plan to use his four Huguenot regiments to reinforce the Anglo-Dutch Brigade against Catholic Loyalists in the Scottish Highlands.¹⁹⁰ However, these military connections, though strategically important, had little direct impact on the actual composition of the Scottish population. After the unification of England and Scotland in 1707, a large number of Scots moved to Charleston, and become involved in commerce there. After the failed Jacobite uprising in 1745, by thousands more followed, settling in North Carolina's Cape Fear peninsula, this centered on present-day Fayetteville.

However, Huguenot participation in this Scottish migration, and any resulting direct effects on the American Revolution, are effectively invisible. But later Huguenots would marry into Scottish families with more meaningful impact. Daniel Roberdeau was the son of a Huguenot father from the West Indies and a Scottish mother. He would serve as a Militia Colonel, Brigadier General of the Continental Line, and a congressman, yet

¹⁸⁸ Davies and Davies, *French Huguenots in English-speaking Lands*, 100.

¹⁸⁹ D. E. Easson, "French Protestants in Edinburgh," in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, XVIII (1947-52)*, ed. Huguenot Society (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland), 325.

¹⁹⁰ Glozier, 695.

his greatest aid to the Revolution came in his successful efforts to produce gunpowder. An even greater impact was made by a young man, who was born in the island of Nevis to an absentee Scottish father and a French Protestant refugee mother, Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton learned French, not as a later student at King's College in New York, but as a child from his mother. Years later, after the revolution, companions of the refugee Charles Talleyrand would remark that Hamilton "spoke our language like a Frenchman."¹⁹¹ Hamilton would acknowledge his ancestry as such:

My Grandfather by the mothers side of the name of Faucette was a French Huguenot who emigrated to the West Indies in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz (sic) and settled in the Island of Nevis and there acquired a pretty fortune. I have been assured by persons who knew him that he was a man of letters and much of a gentleman. He practiced a<s> a Physician, whether that was his original profession, or one assumed for livelihood after his emigration is not to me ascertained.¹⁹²

Hamilton, relatively destitute after his mother's death, was identified as a business and writing prodigy at a young age. He was sponsored to go to school and attend the bastion of Presbyterianism, the College of New Jersey (modern Princeton), though disagreements with John Witherspoon about his potential flexibility in advancement lead him to King's College instead. Hamilton benefited by the refugees' transatlantic networks by being first hosted by Elias Boudinot's family (becoming so deeply attached to their infant daughter that he eulogized her in poetry at her death), and keeping contact with

¹⁹¹ Furstenburg, 140. Chapter 3's endnotes also references multiple observations regarding Hamilton's proficiency in French.

¹⁹² Founders Online, "From Alexander Hamilton to William Jackson, 26 August 1800," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 24 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=huguenot%20Author%3A%22Hamilton%2C%20Alexander%22&s=1111311111&sa=&r=3&sr=>.

Boudinot in the latter's role as President of the Continental Congress.¹⁹³ Elias Boudinot was a descendant of refugees from Aunis, only a short distance from the former Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle, France.¹⁹⁴

Elias' sister, Annis Boudinot-Stockton, would also leave her mark on the Patriot cause. The wife of Patriot Richard Stockton, and the earliest female poet published in America, Annis was also the only female accepted into the ranks of the American Whig Society and honored for her part in preserving their papers from British forces. She would also correspond with George Washington, and who she praised in her poem "Welcome, Mighty Chief, Once More!"¹⁹⁵ Another Huguenot poet and Patriot was Phillip Freneau. Born in New York to a Huguenot father and a Scots mother, he also had family and friends in South Carolina.¹⁹⁶ Freneau earned himself the sobriquet the "Poet of the Revolution" with poems like "The Prison Ship."

George Washington would later leverage Alexander Hamilton's writing and language skills, along with those of the other two remaining members of the French Corner, Laurens and Lafayette, to his advantage. Washington did not speak French despite a fondness for using French phrases. This had caused him some public difficulties

¹⁹³ Nicole Scholet, "Poetry of Alexander Hamilton," The Alexander Hamilton Awareness Society, 22 April 2015, accessed 24 January 2016, <http://the-aha-society.com/index.php/publications/articles/87-aha-society-articles/179-poetry-of-alexander-hamilton>.

¹⁹⁴ Boyd, 3-4.

¹⁹⁵ Maggie MacLean, "Annis Boudinot Stockton," *History of American Women*, 8 June 2009, accessed 26 January 2016, <http://www.womenhistoryblog.com/2009/08/annis-boudinot-stockton.html>.

¹⁹⁶ Phillip Merrill Marsh, *Phillip Freneau, Poet and Journalist* (Minneapolis: Dillon Press, 1968), 100.

during the French and Indian War, when his signature to the written surrender of Fort Necessity, this in French, unwittingly acknowledged war crimes.¹⁹⁷ After Hamilton's departure from his staff (this over a perceived insult) Washington would use Laurens in particular when he needed to liaise with elements of the French allies.¹⁹⁸ The limited quantity of available French speakers was apparent when Washington searched for assistant inspectors as cadre for the new Inspector General, Baron Von Steuben. Steuben, before he learned a somewhat profane version of English, only spoke German and French. Washington wrote:

These assistants, or some of them should be men of extensive abilities, skilled in the French language, of zeal, activity and decision. I have not the sufficient knowledge to point out those, who best answer the description; but Henley, Lee, Barber and Scull occur to me as men who might be very useful in this time; though I know not, if either of them understands the French language.¹⁹⁹

The final member of this talented group of Presbyterians was Esther de Brendt Reed, born in London to a refugee family of Walloons. Her father was the appointed agent of New Jersey. In London Esther gained the attentions of law student Joseph Reed, late of Philadelphia, who sought her hand in marriage despite her father's disapproval. After the elder De Brendt's death, they were married in an Anglican Church (despite both their Calvinistic origins and Esther's eventual burial in a Presbyterian cemetery) and

¹⁹⁷ History.com, "1754: Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Builds Fort Necessity," accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/lieutenant-colonel-george-washington-builds-fort-necessity>.

¹⁹⁸ Alice Curtis Desmond, *Sword and Pen for George Washington* (Dodd, Mead, 1964), 80-82.

¹⁹⁹ George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 Volume 37* (Washington, DC: George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Government Printing Offices, 1940), 547.

returned to America. Reed became an ardent Patriot and Esther shared his passion, helping organize the Daughters of Liberty on Washington's behalf, an organization that raised thousands of dollars' worth of clothing to equip Continental soldiers. She would not live to see the fruition of her work, dying in 1781, just a couple of years before the Treaty of Paris ended the war with her native land's recognition of American sovereignty.²⁰⁰

The Scots-Irish or Ulster Scots: Huguenots through the Back Door

The participation of Huguenots in the American Revolution that identified themselves with their mostly Presbyterian kin, the Scots-Irish, is significant. Thousands of Scots-Irish, to include anglicized Huguenot names like Pickens and Crockett, migrated from the province of Ulster to colonial America in large numbers prior to the Revolutionary War. The term Scots (or Scotch) Irish is itself an American one rarely used by the residents of the British Isles, who sometimes substituted the term "Ulster Scots."²⁰¹ Colonial Americans simply referred to them as Irish, or sometimes Irish (or Ulster) Presbyterians, as there was no large influx of Irish Catholics to North America prior to the American Revolution. Any of these names only partially defines the ethnicity of this group that migrated from the Lowlands of Scotland to Ulster, as part of King James I of England's 16th Century plan to redirect the energies and aggressiveness of these border Presbyterians against the native, Catholic Irish. Despite any contrary

²⁰⁰ Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution Volume I* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1849).

²⁰¹ Leyburn, xi.

attempts to associate them with Highland bagpipes or as “mere” Irish, the Scots-Irish became a distinct culture from either the native Scots or the native Irish they contested against for centuries.

In Ulster, the Scots-Irish also incorporated other groups beyond Scotland and Ireland. These included some English, primarily landowners, who were often Puritan Londoners, and a large influx of French Huguenot refugees. In 1689, King William III of England invited these French expatriates to settle in Ulster, to include a colony in Lisburn. This was partly in gratitude for the assistance of Huguenot soldiers and regiments in gaining him the throne.²⁰² It was arguably more important as a shrewd investment to take advantage of their skills and industrious habits. The Huguenots stimulated the both the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen in Ireland, offsetting hardships created by recent restrictions on wool exports created by the *Woolens Act*.²⁰³ As fellow Calvinists, they often joined the Presbyterian Church and soon integrated into the dominant, lowland Scottish communities. This intermingling of different Protestant sects was “a foreshadowing of what would happen to a later extent on the American frontier.”²⁰⁴

Other changes increased the distinction between the Scot in Ulster and his relatives who stayed in Scotland. Scottish ministers took their flocks to Ulster, but Scottish lairds did not leave their relative comforts to move the 20 or so miles across the channel to Ireland. This changed the power structure: the Kirk and its ministers still held

²⁰² Webb, 112.

²⁰³ Leyburn, 159.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 127.

authority in purely religious matters, but there were now additional opportunities for men of talent to rise above their given station in politics. This combined with the hardiness necessary to survive on a harsh rugged frontier, filled with demonstrably hostile, Catholic natives, and developed a sense of individualism. The result was a people, “dourly Protestant, thoroughly besieged, sure of its God-given superiority, slow, suspicious, determined, and tough.”²⁰⁵

These skills were applied soon enough across the Atlantic in America. The stage for this was set by the unpredictable and unreliable relationship between the Scots-Irish and the British Crown. Relationships with the Stuarts were poor at best, horrible at worst. James I of England (James VI of Scotland), a nominal Protestant, established the Plantation in Ulster, but he was resented by Scots for his attempts to impose an Episcopal form of government on the Presbyterian Church. His son, Charles I, was even less subtle in his High Anglican and Roman Catholic leanings, eventually leading to the English Civil War and the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell in the mid-17th Century. Another Stuart, Charles II, agreed to uphold Presbyterianism in return for supporting his claim to the throne, but it was a promise soon broken. The result was a Scots-Irish culture that distrusted both the British Crown and the Church of England.

The Glorious Restoration of 1688, that installed William and Mary jointly upon the English throne, brought a brief respite to this distrust. William III of England did reciprocate the loyalty of the Ulster Scots and French Huguenots that faithfully supported him up through the Battle of the Boyne in 1698. Nevertheless, any gains made by Ulster Presbyterians under King Billy were lost under his heir, Queen Anne. In 1703, she

²⁰⁵ Connor Cruise O’Brien, *The States of Ireland* (London: Hutchinson, 1972), 66.

supported the passage of the *Test Act* that required all officeholders in Ireland to take the sacrament according to the established, Anglican Church. Ostensibly, though intended primarily as a weapon against Roman Catholics, it actually did far more damage to Dissenters, who were turned out of office, forbidden from teaching, and had their very marriages ruled invalid.²⁰⁶

The *Test Act of 1703* further compounded the suffering in Ulster caused by existing economic restrictions placed on agriculture and industry that began with the *Woolens Act of 1699*. The result was that Presbyterians in Ulster began to vote with their feet and began large-scale migrations to Colonial America. These migrations from Ulster to America, nearly a quarter million people, were the largest prior to the American Revolution.²⁰⁷ Their destinations and their receptions varied. New England received some of the immigrants, but the rowdy Scots-Irish Presbyterians were not held in high esteem by the dour New England Congregationalists. In New York and New Jersey the Presbyterians contested with the Anglican elite, sometimes allied with Congregationalist enclaves and Scots Covenanters, a pattern that continued through the Revolutionary War.

The majority of the Scots-Irish settled in America through the Quaker-founded lands of Pennsylvania, the preferred destination of Scots-Irish immigrants. The Provincial Secretary, James Logan, initially invited the Scots-Irish. A Belfast native himself, Logan attested to their ability as frontier fighters, a useful skill they used against native Indian tribes as effectively as it had been used against native Irish. As accurate as his initial assessment was, Logan had cause to regret his decision. Just a few years later, he

²⁰⁶ Leyburn, 166.

²⁰⁷ Phillips, 180.

lamented, “a settlement of five families from the North of Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people.”²⁰⁸ The numbers increased to roughly one-third of the Pennsylvania population. They eventually seized control of the Pennsylvania government from the Quakers during the American Revolution, with Continental General Charles Lee describing the result as a “mac-ocracy.”²⁰⁹ Moreover, it was from Pennsylvania that the bulk of the Scots-Irish moved both south and westward through Maryland and Virginia and down to the Carolinas.

By the mid-1700s, the Huguenots were firmly entrenched in the Carolinas, particularly in the South Carolina Lowcountry in and around Charleston.²¹⁰ With few exceptions, the majority of the Lowcountry Huguenots had accepted the authority of Anglican Church, albeit sometimes with a Calvinistic twist, adopted the English language, and often participated in the colony’s ruling elite. Often this pattern of acculturation and intermarriage made their French family names and traditions, to include perhaps maintaining a family tradition of knowing the French language, the only things that distinguished these Anglo-French from the rest of their British neighbors. The settlement of the Huguenots in both colonial America and the Coastal South is relatively well documented, to include the period of time that led right up to the American Revolution. Many, if not most, biographies of famous Carolina Patriots such as Laurens, Marion, or Huger make some passing mention of their French ancestry. But the predominate tale of the Huguenot immigration as a whole to the Carolinas tends to focus

²⁰⁸ Leyburn, 192.

²⁰⁹ Phillips, 182.

²¹⁰ Van Ruymbeke, Butler, and other researchers.

on the large influx of Anglo-French refugees who acculturated into the dominant culture and largely adopted a form of Low Church Anglicanism. Effectively the narrative focuses on the Huguenots who came into the Carolinas, from Europe or from other North American colonies, through the “front door” of Charleston.

However, the Huguenots did not only come to the Carolinas by the way of England; large numbers German-speakers and Scots-Irish entered Virginia and Carolinas through a “back door” of Appalachian settlements stretching back to Pennsylvania. The often-overwhelming size of the Scots-Irish immigration has already been touched upon, but the number of German-speaking settlers was also large enough that the southern colonies, “could boast as much as one half of their population as German.”²¹¹ While some of these new arrivals settled in existing, English-dominated communities, many settled in Western townships like Purrysburg, Orangeburg, or Saxe-Gotha, which were set aside for continental Europeans, or Williamsburg, dominated by Scots-Irish Protestants who came from Ulster. The accompanying Huguenots, already acculturated into these different ethnic groups and scattered along the Backcountry, often had different cultural values from their distant cousins in the Lowcountry. These involved different cultural views on authority and religion. These cultural values affected the Huguenots participation as both individuals and groups in the American Revolution by helping shape alliances and personal connections that crossed ethnic boundaries.

²¹¹ Rita Folse Elliot and Daniel T. Elliot, “Guten Tag Bubba: Germans in the Colonial South,” in *Another’s Country: Archeological and Historical Perspectives in the Southern Colonies*, ed. J. W. Joseph and Martha Zierden (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 72.

In the mid-1700s Patrick Calhoun, along with merchant Henry Laurens, helped a latter group of Huguenots led by the Reverend Jean Louis Gilbert. This group had fled, by the way of England, a new series of persecutions in France, and planned to settle in New Bordeaux in 1764. Patrick Calhoun surveyed the land for the township and helped to build several of the houses.²¹² Again, the Huguenots found that the shared Calvinistic traditions between the Huguenots and the Scots-Irish facilitated acculturation, and the French refugees, despite being led by a Huguenot minister, did not found a separate church. Instead, they joined the Scots-Irish at Hopewell Presbyterian Church that was founded in by 1756 a group of Scots-Irish settlers from Virginia, also led by Patrick Calhoun. This was followed by the settlement of new Scots-Irish townships, on land taken from the Cherokee, in Hillsborough and Boonesborough. They also settled the town of London Borough, where Palatine Germans joined the Scots-Irish in 1765.

The Scots-Irish played a significant role in the American Revolution, the vast majority of their participation being on the Patriot side. Their distrust of royal authority and Episcopal Church Government, planted in Scotland, nurtured in Ulster, and fed by additional French and German refugees, came to full bloom in America at the most opportune time. This did not go unnoticed or commented upon by British authorities or their allies, to include Hessian Captain Johann Heinrich who remarked “Call this war by whatever name you may, only call it not an American rebellion; it is nothing more or less than a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian rebellion.”²¹³ Many of the Scots-Irish names that

²¹² Bob Edmunds, “The Huguenots of New Bordeaux,” accessed 27 January 2016, <http://web.wctel.net/~cedarhill/huguenot.html>.

²¹³ Webb, 121.

appeared in the Patriot ranks had French Huguenot origins. These ranged from enlisted soldiers like John Crockett, who served in the Overmountain Men that were victorious at King's Mountain, to Continental General Andrew Lewis, the hero of the Battle of Point Pleasant.²¹⁴ Lewis was an exception to the Anglican affiliation among the southern, Huguenot leadership in the American Revolution. Another exception was the deeply religious Andrew Pickens. Pickens was part of the same Huguenot and Scots-Irish mix as Sevier and Crockett. His family name, Anglicized from Picon, came to South Carolina originally from La Rochelle, France by way of Ulster, and then down from Pennsylvania.

Pickens was quite aware of his ancestry and remarked upon it in a letter to Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee (himself a descendant of Huguenot Nicolas Martiau), "My father and mother came from Ireland. My father's progenitors emigrated from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes."²¹⁵ Pickens was born in Paxton Township, Pennsylvania, and moved steadily southward with his family until they settled in Waxhaw County, South Carolina. He was a veteran of the Cherokee War of 1760 and 1761, and threw in his lot with the Patriot cause. Pickens served as a militia leader during the 1775 Battle of Ninety-Six, the unsuccessful invasion of British East Florida, and the Siege of Savannah. He was captured during the 1780 defense of Charleston, but he later renounced his parole. His command of the militia on 17 January 1781 during the Battle of Cowpens was decisive to the American victory there. As a brigadier general, Pickens

²¹⁴ Samuel K. Fore, "Andrew Lewis," George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed 27 January 2016, <http://www.mountvernon.org/digital-encyclopedia/article/andrew-lewis/>.

²¹⁵ William H. Pickens, *Andrew Pickens: South Carolina Patriot in the Revolutionary War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2012), 7.

served throughout the remainder of the war, with an emphasis on mercilessly suppressing Loyalist resistance in the Carolina backcountry, campaigning against the Cherokee, and joining with Colonel Henry Lee to force the surrender of the British garrison in Augusta.²¹⁶

Crockett, Lewis, and Pickens' ancestors had all first settled in Ulster prior to coming to America, with their families brought up in the related Presbyterian faith of the Scots-Irish. Frontiersman John Sevier's family is of interest as his Huguenot ancestors did not originally settle among the Scots-Irish in Ulster, as Sevier's grandfather fled first to London and stayed there. John's father, Valentine Sevier, later settled in Maryland, then Virginia, and married into the Scots-Irish. This gave John Sevier, who was born in the Shenandoah Valley, ties to three different cultures: English, French, and Scots-Irish. One result was that the Seviers adopted the Scots-Irish penchant for wandering. Sevier and his family wandered west from Fredericksburg to New Market, eventually settling along the Nolichucky River, in what became eastern Tennessee.

John Sevier gained a reputation as an Indian fighter and a frontier leader, earning the sobriquet "Nolichucky Jack," and allegedly meeting his second wife while saving her from a Cherokee attack on Fort Watauga. During the Revolutionary War, his sympathies were now fully aligned with the Scots-Irish majority that now included his family. Sevier successfully petitioned the North Carolina assembly to recognize the over-the-mountains territory as Washington County, and he was appointed a lieutenant colonel of militia in 1776. He spent the majority of the next four years in a brutal war defending against

²¹⁶ Ibid., 261-63.

British-sponsored Indian attacks, and more importantly helped promote loyalty to the Patriot cause among his Scots-Irish brethren.²¹⁷

It was on 7 October 1780, during the Battle of King's Mountain, North Carolina that John Sevier played his most important role in the American Revolution. Recognized as the turning point in the war in Southern Department, King's Mountain is traditionally highlighted as a sort of Celtic family brawl: a Loyalist force, led by Major Patrick Ferguson, late of the 71st Highlanders, defeated by a Patriot force composed mainly of distant, Scots-Irish kindred. What has been largely overlooked is the Huguenot connection that was touched upon in this paper's introduction with names like John Sevier, his brother Robert, and militiaman John Crockett, facing Loyalist officers like Abraham De Peyster and Anthony Allaire. John Sevier continued to fight against both the British and the Cherokee, to include a fall 1781 campaign alongside fellow Huguenot Francis "The Swamp Fox" Marion. The careers of Crockett, Lewis, Pickens, and Sevier, though archetypal, were quite congruent with the pattern of Patriotic service established by the Huguenots acculturated into the larger Scots-Irish population.

The Minor Streams

Along with the major streams of the Anglicans and Calvinists the Huguenots flowed along several minor streams, often jumping from one stream to another. The term "minor" here is used in a quantitative, not qualitative, sense of the word, and its usage should not be considered pejorative of the effects that individual Huguenot members may have had on the American Revolution. One such minor stream includes Huguenot

²¹⁷ Richard L. Blanco and Paul J. Sanborn, eds., *The American Revolution 1775-1783: An Encyclopedia Volume II: M-Z* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 1511.

members of the Methodist Church, a John Wesley and George Whitefield-inspired denomination that began as a revival of the Church of England. English Huguenot Vincent Perronet was a close associate of Wesley and was styled a Methodist bishop.²¹⁸ The DePauw family, which arrived in America alongside Lafayette, exemplified Methodism in the Patriot cause, this in the person of General Charles DePauw. His grandson, Washington Charles DePauw, left DePauw University as his legacy.

The Baptist Church, a denomination claiming ties back to the earlier Anabaptists in Europe and practicing a similar doctrine of adult baptism and also (with some, Calvinist-influenced, congregations as exceptions) the doctrine of Free Will, whereby an individual can choose to accept, deny, or even lose God's Grace. Like the Methodists, the Baptists were able to leverage a vacuum left by the Presbyterian Church in not providing sufficient seminary-trained pastors for their Scots-Irish and other communicants on the frontiers of Colonial America. Not originally having this education requirement, the Baptists were able to fill the pulpit with any pastor called by the spirit, and the Baptists became one of the dominant Protestant denominations, particularly in the American South, a distinction they hold to this day. New Jersey Patriot and Huguenot John Gano was a Baptist preacher who served as a chaplain in the Continental Army. Gano had the distinction of gaining George Washington's confidence, chosen by Washington to lead a prayer of thanksgiving after news of the Treaty of Paris reached North America.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Gwynn, 110-111.

²¹⁹ Daughters of the American Revolution, *American Monthly Magazine, Volume 2* (Washington, DC: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1893), 400.

Huguenots of other creeds bookended the American Revolution in interesting ways. Huguenot Jean Etienne Benezet was a member of the *Inspires de la Vaunge*, also known as the *Congeries* Quakers.²²⁰ His son, Quaker, pacifist, and emancipationist Anthony Benezet, was a friend to fellow Philadelphia native Benjamin Franklin both before and after the war, and used this relationship to promote the abolition of slavery. Fellow Huguenot and Quaker Jacob De Cou (or De Cow) would not let his denomination's pacifism prevent him from serving in a New Jersey Loyalist battalion and eventually seeking exile in Canada.²²¹ Finally, Moravian Henry LaTrobe emigrated from Britain to America after the Revolution. A trained and talented architect, he designed the US Capital, the first Roman Catholic Cathedral, and various projects around New Orleans.²²²

The addition of these minor streams of Huguenot immigration to the major streams was an indicator of a larger cross-cultural influence that did not happen just because of military necessity; the foundation for it was laid down over decades. This greater willingness to accept the integration of the Huguenots, along with the integration of other settlers, was just one aspect of the changes that began to separate the Scot in Ulster, or the Palatine in Pennsylvania, from his (or her) brethren in the United Kingdom and Continental Europe. It facilitated the ability of the Huguenots, Scots-Irish, Germans,

²²⁰ Robert T. Grimm, *Notable American Philanthropists: Biographies of Giving and Volunteering* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 26.

²²¹ United Empire Loyalists, "Directory of Loyalists," accessed 27 January 2016, http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Info/Loyalist_list.php?letter=d.

²²² Todd Shallat, *Structures in the Stream: Water, Science, and the Rise of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 11-12.

Dutch, and English in Colonial America, as they spread towards the Appalachians, to begin to see themselves as collectively possessing the heritage of many different, yet often compatible, ethnic groups. This slowly created a truly American identity and set the stage for cooperation among communities during the American Revolution.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS

It is no small comfort brother . . . to the brethren of one nation to understand the state of brethren in other nations.²²³

— Scottish Presbyterian John Davidson, in a letter to Puritan John Field, this after receiving messages in 1582 from the Huguenots in Rochelle, France.

Redoubt No. 10

On 14 October 1781, approximately 400 Continental soldiers under the command of the Major General the Marquis de Lafayette assaulted the British and Hessian soldiers defending Redoubt No. 10 at Yorktown, barely a 20 minute leisurely walk from the original homestead of George Washington's ancestor, Nicolas Martiau.²²⁴ The assault was concurrent with a similar-sized one of French soldiers led by Major General Baron De Viomenil, both designed to bring the Siege of Yorktown, begun 28 September, to a successful culmination. To achieve surprise neither assaulting force carried loaded weapons, but instead relied on their bayonets to force the issue, an irony no doubt to the ghosts of the British regulars stirring atop King's Mountain. Under Lafayette's command, and leading the assaulting force, was Alexander Hamilton, recently returned to Washington's forces as a Lieutenant Colonel. Assaulting the position alongside him was his old friend Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, commanding a subordinate, mixed force of New Englanders. After being challenged by a Hessian sentry, the assaulting sappers

²²³ John M. Owen, *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 100.

²²⁴ Author's personal reconnaissance, 2015-16.

were able to clear a path through the defensive works of a wooden abatis, allowing the Americans to successfully take the position. This accomplishment, coupled with the successful French assault on Redoubt No. 9, brought the remaining British defenders under continuous fire from the Continental Army and French Expeditionary Force. Two days later, despairing of relief from the sea, General Cornwallis surrendered his forces. The American Revolution was effectively over.²²⁵

Effectively did not mean literally or legally. The war would drag on for another two years of intermittent combat and skirmishes, until 3 September 1783, when the Treaty of Paris officially ended hostilities with British recognition of the US sovereignty. It was in one of those intermittent skirmishes at the Battle of Combahee River, near Beaufort, South Carolina, that John Laurens lost his life on 27 August 1782. Hamilton, again a civilian, was devastated. He wrote to Lafayette “You know how truly I loved him and will judge how much I regret him.”²²⁶

With Lafayette’s earlier departure for France the partnership of the French Corner of Washington’s mess tent had truly ended. Hamilton himself would rise to greater levels of both admiration and rivalry. He effectively succeeded Continental treasurer Michael Hillegas, who was himself descended from Alsatian Huguenots, to become the first Secretary of the Treasury and rebuilt the newborn nation’s credit. Hamilton accomplished this under a US Constitution he had championed in the essays of the *Federalist*, co-authored with James Madison and fellow Huguenot John Jay. Hamilton’s championing of

²²⁵ The United States Army War College, “Army Heritage Trail,” accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ahec/trail/Redoubt10/>.

²²⁶ Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, 174.

the Federalist cause would bring him into a rivalry with Thomas Jefferson, and also give rise to the two-party system in America. Ironically, Hamilton's support of his longtime rival Jefferson for President in 1800, against Aaron Burr, someone who Hamilton called a "dangerous man," contributed with subsequent events to end his own life. Hamilton's further accusations against Burr, during a New York gubernatorial race, led to his death from their duel in 1804. Friend and fellow Huguenot Gouverneur Morris eulogized him, but warned "Far from attempting to excite your emotions, I must try to repress my own, and yet I fear that instead of the language of a public speaker, you will hear only the lamentations of a bewailing friend."²²⁷

The Americans

Other Huguenots in the Patriot cause followed different paths. John Jay served with Henry Laurens as part of the American delegation to France that successfully negotiated the Treaty of Paris, the advantage of his fluency in French only somewhat overcoming his well-nurtured distrust of his Catholic French allies, something that his Loyalist brother Sir James Jay was all too willing to try to leverage to Britain's advantage. John Jay would also co-author the essays of *The Federalist*, along with Hamilton and Madison, and later would serve as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Gouverneur Morris would play an arguably larger role in the young republic's future, being widely considered the author of a large portion of the US Constitution.

²²⁷ Founders Online, "The Funeral [14 July 1804]," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=%22alexander%20hamilton%22%20funeral&s=1211311111&sa=&r=5&sr=>.

Other Huguenot Patriots served in various levels of leadership in business, education, and varying levels of local, state, and national government. Elias Boudinot, like Henry Laurens and John Jay, would serve as President of the Continental Congress and later as a member of the House of Representatives. Henri de Saussure would become one of the leaders of the Federalist Party, until State's Rights advocates swept him from power. Phillip Freneau would become an ally of Thomas Jefferson, who offered him a job as a translator at the State Department, despite Freneau only speaking the same French which Jefferson was fluent in as well. This position allowed him ample time to turn his pen from poetry to editing the anti-Federalist *Gazette of the United States*, earning Freneau the enmity of not just Alexander Hamilton, but also George Washington. The rebel Anglican Priest Samuel Provoost would not only survive the war, but transition from being the Chaplain of the Continental Congress to becoming, in 1787, one of the earliest bishops of the Episcopal Church, America's successor church to the Church of England.

John Sevier would survive the war and become the first Governor of Tennessee, and incidentally a bitter rival to fellow frontiersman, hero of the Battle of New Orleans, and future United States President, Andrew Jackson. Alice De Lancey and Ralph Izard's marriage would produce many children, to include Ralph De Lancey Izard, a hero of the Barbary Pirate campaign for his actions in burning the captured USS *Philadelphia*. The Huger family would also continue to give service to their country though, like many Southern Huguenots, the color of their uniforms shifted from blue to gray during the savage bloodletting that was the American Civil War. Benjamin Huger's son, Francis, would serve as a South Carolina state politician, this after far wilder adventures in

support of his late father's old friend, the Marquis de Lafayette. Francis Huger's grandson, also named Benjamin after his grandfather, would earn a brevet promotion to major for bravery during the Mexican-American War, and would later serve as a Confederate major general in several campaigns and positions during the Civil War.

Other Huguenots fighting in the Civil War included Confederate General John Villepigue, a veteran of multiple campaigns, whose grandson would earn the Medal of Honor in the First World War. The fortunes of war would also mean he and other Southern Huguenots would find themselves facing other descendants of French Protestants wearing blue. This would include Jack Jouett's son, James, who would become an admiral in the US Navy and would be present to receive Admiral Farragut's command to "damn the torpedoes!" during the battle of Mobile Bay. When Huguenot Joshua Chamberlain led the heroic stand of the 20th Maine at Little Round Top, he was arguably facing some of his spiritual, if not literal, Huguenot cousins in the assaulting forces of the Alabama Brigade.

At a more modest level, Henry Mouzon would marry and settle down to rebuild his plantation surrounded by many children, while his cousin, the guerilla warfare expert Francis Marion, would marry his cousin, Mary Videu, and settle down to rebuild his South Carolina plantation as well, with the Swamp Fox dying in 1795. Overmountain Man John Crockett would also die just seven years later, in 1802. His son Davy, never one for modesty, after leaving the House of Representatives with a memorable "You may all go to Hell, and I will go to Texas," would die a hero at the Alamo in present day San Antonio. Crockett would participate into the westward movement of many Huguenots, as

part of general, westward migration of Americans, something only partially interrupted by the American Civil War.

Moving west, especially in the Southwest, the Crocketts and other settlers would mix with earlier settlers from the Spanish colonization of the area. This mixture would include members of the Archibeque family, descended from one Jean L'Archevêque, a survivor of the ill-fated French colony at Saint Louis, Texas. Captured and imprisoned by the government of the Spanish Viceroy, Jean accepted a commission in Spain's service. The L'Archevêque family, now known as "Archibeque," were originally Protestants from Bayonne, France who joined the ranks of the *Nouveaux Convertis* in his grandfather Pierre's day.

The Mesilla Valley, adjacent to El Paso, Las Cruces, and Ciudad Juarez and sitting on the juncture of Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas, would see a Huguenot immigration from even farther afield at the turn of the century. Ben Viljoen, descendant of Huguenots who sought refuge at the Cape of Good Hope centuries earlier, led a settlement there of defeated South Africans following the Anglo-Boer Wars at the turn of the 20th Century. Mesilla's population already included established neighbors like the Huguenot, and Anglo-Hispanic, Fountain-Perez (De la Fontaine) family. Viljoen, an eventual US citizen, would participate in the Mexican Revolution and become of a confidante of a descendant of the Huguenot De Veaux family: President Theodore Roosevelt.

The 20th Century with its two World Wars would bring the descendants of the American Huguenots back to the shores of Europe. The First World War would find the American Expeditionary Force in Europe led by a member of an Alsatian Huguenot

family that immigrated to America, General Jack Pershing. Finally, another strong relationship between refugee descendants played a large part in the American and Allied victory in the Second World War, that of Theodore's cousin, President Franklin Delano (de la Noye) Roosevelt, with British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, the later a descendant from the American Huguenot Jerome family through his American socialite mother.

The British

After the American Revolution, the British Huguenots continued their proud traditions of public service. Isaac Barré, steadfast friend to America and already blind in one eye from wounds suffered in the French and Indian War, later became totally blind. Retiring from public office, he died in 1802, with numerous towns in the US later named after him as a legacy. Robert Pigot would retire a major general and inherit his late brother George's baronetcy, as a junior member of the peerage. His brother, Hugh, would retire an admiral and serve as a Member of Parliament. The Pigot family would also have some fame as the owners of the Pigot Diamond. John Montessor, veteran combat engineer of both the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, returned to England only to die ignobly in debtor's prison. He left behind a legacy of two decades service in America and one probable illegitimate daughter named Frances, who would become the future wife of Ethan Allen. Their daughter, Fanny, would convert from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism and become the first Catholic nun in New England.

The Huguenots among the British natives at least enjoyed the solace of returning home. The Huguenot Loyalists once again saw themselves in the position of refugees, scattered across the Empire, this time because of their loyalty to the crown as opposed to

any supposed disloyalty to it.²²⁸ Anthony Allaire survived King's Mountain only to brush with death again, this time on the charge of murdering Ensign John Keating in 1781, a charge for which he was acquitted.²²⁹ He later settled in to a farm in New Brunswick, one of the provinces that would eventually unite to form the Confederation of Canada, and lived for 83 years. Loyalist officer Abraham De Peyster also survived both King's Mountain and the larger war. He would also join the large number of refugees who would choose exile to New Brunswick, serving as provincial treasurer there. His cousin Arent De Peyster left for England as a Colonel, and years later had a poem written in his honor by one of his soldiers, a young Robert Burns. John Jay's Loyalist brother James Jay also headed across the Atlantic and lived the remainder of his days in England, with a knighthood to his credit.

The majority of the De Lancey family also left for England, with James De Lancey serving as a leader of Loyalist exiles and Oliver De Lancey heading the British commission to settle Loyalists' claims against the American Government. The De Lancey family continued to provide distinguished service for the British Empire, in the form of officers in the British Army who fought in the Napoleonic Wars, and also in multiple, later conflicts.²³⁰ One daughter of the family, Susan De Lancey, would remain in New York to marry a young Naval Officer and future author of some fame, James Fenimore

²²⁸ Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles, American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 122.

²²⁹ The On-Line Institute for Advance Loyalist Studies, "General Court Martial of Anthony Allaire," 28-31 March 1781, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/cmalr4.htm>.

²³⁰ Jasanoff, 91, 378.

Cooper, the author of *Last of the Mohicans*. The War of 1812 would again see these exiled Huguenots on opposing sides from their former countrymen, to include one civilian from Ontario named Laura Ingersoll who married into the Loyalist, Huguenot Secord family, the future Canadian heroine, Laura Secord.

Some other Loyalists managed to return to America after passions had cooled somewhat. These returnees included the discredited Anglican Cleric Jacob Duché who, after a period of exile in London, returned to Philadelphia shortly before his death. The returnees also included South Carolina Loyalist Andrew Deveaux, the former Continental soldier who then became a Loyalist colonel and captured the Bahamas for the British. After some time in London, he was later able to reside in New York while gaining income off his Bahaman estates, a survivor if there ever was one. Huguenot Richard Bayley of New Rochelle, who briefly served as a surgeon in the Loyalist forces, left the conflict early to stay in New Rochelle to attend his dying wife, later teaching at Columbia University. The Bayleys' daughter, Elizabeth, after marriage and widowhood, would also convert from Anglicanism to Catholicism, later becoming the first American canonized by the Roman Catholic Church, Saint Elizabeth Seton, and with Seton Hall University as her namesake.

An often underestimated group of participants in both the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War, Britain's various Swiss auxiliaries, including many Huguenots, continued their service to the Crown in other capacities. Two Swiss Huguenots became Canadian provincial administrators, who now dealt with the influx of Loyalist refugees, Joseph DesBarres, now Governor of Cape Breton, and Frederick Haldimand, who remained as Governor of Quebec. Haldimand's service, before his

eventual retirement and death in England, contributed to his name being honored with several place names in modern Canada.

Mark Prévost, a veteran of both the Royal American Regiment and the French and Indian Wars, did not survive the war, dying of wounds in Jamaica in 1779. His widow would eventually marry Alexander Hamilton's slayer Aaron Burr, while Prévost's son John later served the Federal Government in various capacities under both the Jefferson and Monroe administrations. Mark's brother Augustine Prévost, fellow veteran of the Royal American Regiment and onetime facilitator of the Laurens family, would survive the war as a Major General. His son George would also serve in the British Army, rising to the rank of Lieutenant General and earning fame for his leadership as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia during the War of 1812.

Over a century later, during World War Two, the Commander of the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk, Field Marshal John Verker, was descended from the De Lancey family like so many British officers throughout the years. The British Special Operation Executive employed the services of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Chastelain, whose son John would become a Canadian General. In a conflict towards the end of the following Cold War, yet seemingly outside it, the 1982 Falkland Islands War revolved in large part around the legitimacy of the Argentinian claims to the *Islas Malvinas*, centering on Luis Vernet, a Huguenot from Hamburg who settled in the Rio de la Plata. As part of their successful effort to reclaim the islands the British planned Operation Mikado, designed to destroy Argentinian fighter aircraft on the mainland. The officer responsible for planning that operation was the Director of the Special Air Service during

the storming of the Iranian Embassy in 1979, and later the Commander-in-Chief of British forces participating in Operation Desert Storm, General Sir Peter de la Billière.

The French

Pierre Beaumarchais, the friend to his family's former Protestant coreligionists and indispensable friend to the American Revolution, saw his fortunes ebb after the war ended. He survived multiple marriages, legal actions, governmental changes from a Monarchy to a Republic, and temporary exile in parts of Germany, only to die in Paris. Today he is probably best remembered by the American public, if at all, indirectly for plays like the *Barber of Seville*, rather than for his instrumental work in obtaining early, essential aid at America's birth. The Marquis de Lafayette, the other preeminent friend of France to America, returned to France to become a champion of Protestant rights. After meeting with Lafayette one Huguenot leader would remark "The hero of America has become my hero!"²³¹ Lafayette sometimes despaired of success in letters to George Washington, yet saw eventual triumph with 1787's *Edict of Toleration*.²³²

Yet the following years were not kind to either Lafayette or his family, as his attempts to bring the ideas of American democracy to France were swept away by the passions of the radicals. Fleeing France and the Terror he was captured by the Austrians, in what was the Spanish Netherlands that many Protestant Walloons fled nearly two centuries before. An ultimately unsuccessful attempt to rescue Lafayette involved a

²³¹ David A Clary, *Adopted Son* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2007), 377.

²³² Founders Online, "To George Washington from Lafayette, 11 May 1785," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-02-02-0401>.

student studying medicine in Vienna, none other than Francis Huger, the son of the same Benjamin Huger who first welcomed him to the shores of America. Eventually spurning Napoleon, despite the Emperor's part in gaining his freedom, and also becoming an opponent of the succeeding Bourbon monarchs, Lafayette's last vindication came in a triumphant tour of the US in 1824 and 1825. He would die in Paris on 20 May 1834, buried by his son Georges Washington de la Lafayette under soil imported from Bunker Hill.

The Huguenots remaining in France, now enjoying civil liberties, constituted just a small percentage of the total French population. The end of official persecution did not necessarily equate to unofficial acceptance, yet the Protestant minority managed to persevere, especially in traditional strongholds like the Cévennes. They even began to prosper, holding their first National Synod in over 200 years, in 1872. And during World War Two, in what can arguably be called the Huguenots' finest hour, the inhabitants of the French Protestant village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, remembering their own history of religious persecution, hid hundreds of Jews from Vichy and Nazi authorities. These actions earned them the status of "Righteous Among Nations" from the Yad Vashem, the Center for Holocaust Studies and Remembrance for the State of Israel.²³³

Under the successive royal governments and numbered republics, the Huguenots gained a reputation as defenders of civil liberties and later provided political leadership in the same country that once spurned them, including a handful of Prime Ministers in the Fifth Republic. They also came to dominate many industries, from banking to various

²³³ The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, "The Righteous Among the Nations," Yad Vashem, accessed 27 January 2016, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/related_sites.asp.

types of manufactures, including names like Hottinger, Hermès, and Peugeot. This coupling of political and economic power would lead to a once-powerless minority referred to as the “HSP,” or *Haute Société Protestante*.²³⁴

The Germans

Back in the various independent duchies, principalities, and kingdoms that would become modern Germany, Huguenot officers like August La Motte continued to serve alongside distinguished officers named Fouqué and L'Estocq, family names that would echo again and again through generations of German military history. The French occupations of the Napoleonic Wars, and the resulting rise in nationalism, were to bring on a noticeable change in the attitude towards France in the various Huguenot communities from Hesse-Cassel to Berlin. German Huguenots, both in and out of uniform, increasingly began seeing themselves as connected to the local German populations and the idea of unified German state, albeit under Prussian leadership. The Franco-Prussian War of 1871 would see the officers of both the Prussian General Staff and various major commands, men with names like von François, du Vernois, and Bronsart, shocking both the French forces of Napoleon III and the entire world in a series of rapid campaigns culminating in a successful drive towards Paris. Their presence in the proclamation of the German Empire, this at the Palace of Versailles, royal residence of their former oppressors the House of Bourbon, can rightfully claim the title of “Huguenots’ Revenge.”

²³⁴ The Economist, “France's Protestants: Prim but Paunchy,” 16 April 1998, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.economist.com/node/160426>.

The transition into the 20th Century saw the Huguenot military dynasties give continued service to Germany. As a preemptive move against further British expansion Curt von François would seize German Southwest Africa. He would found the city of Windhoek in what became present day Namibia. The First World War would see his brother, General Herman von François, serving on the Eastern Front in Europe. This part of a global conflict where three of the involved heads of state, the British King George V, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the Russian Tsar Nicolas II, were all cousins through their grandmother Queen Victoria, and all three shared her Huguenot ancestry through both Louise de Coligny and Eleonore d'Olbreuse. The war also involved the descendant of a German Huguenot who ranged even farther afield. The Turkish 25th Division was commanded by future statesman Ali Fuat Cebesoy. His grandfather was Turkish Marshal Mehmed Ali, born Karl Detroit, a German Huguenot who had converted to Islam.

Two decades later, in World War Two, refugee descendants and Luftwaffe aces Adolf Galland and Hans-Joachim Marseille would contest the skies over Europe, often flying against Royal Air Force aces like South African Adolph "Sailor" Malan. The German ground campaign also included numerous German Huguenots, including Generals Helmut and Kurt Von Chevallerie and even Field Marshal Gerd von Runstedt, a descendant of the Huguenot Fischer family. Many of the German Huguenot descendants would justify their actions during World War Two as simply serving their adopted German fatherland, regardless of their personal views of the Nazism, yet there were some dedicated Nazis leaders among their number as well. One of these was Richard (Ricardo) Darré, born to a German Huguenot family that had immigrated to Argentina. Darré would author the notorious "Blood and Soil" policy that fueled a large part of the German drive

for *Lebensraum*, or “living room.” There was also an example of undisputed moral courage. Henri Salmide, born Heinz Stahlschmidt, was a demolitions expert in the German Navy who refused to obey orders to blow up the port of Bordeaux, France in order to greatly disrupt the liberating Allied forces. In a 1997 interview he justified his actions by pointing out: “My family were Huguenots, and I acted according to my Christian conscience.”²³⁵

The end of World War Two saw the German-speaking destinations of Le Refuge split amongst the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), large regions of Poland, and even some parts of the Soviet Union that were originally part of East Prussia. West Germany would become an American ally as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance with a relatively static membership until the fall of the Berlin Wall. The fall of that wall marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Lothar de Maizière, a member of the refugee de Maizière family that has provided numerous German political and military leaders to the present day, would serve as the last Prime Minister of East Germany prior to German reunification. That reunification and NATO’s eastward expansion brought even more former destinations of Le Refuge into the Atlantic Alliance, right up to borders of Kaliningrad (the former Königsberg) and the once-again Saint Petersburg.

The Germans have now been allies of the Americans for over a half a century. Given the increasingly secular nature of both German and American societies, it is doubtful that most soldiers from either country would pause to inquire about the possible

²³⁵ James Mackenzie, “Renegade German War Hero who Saved French Port Dies,” *Reuters*, 25 February 2010, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-bordeaux-hero-idUSTRE61O2SQ20100225>.

religious refugee origins of a name sewn or pinned on an allied soldier's uniform. But perhaps, in a moment of trust, an American infantry company commander would ask about the French-sounding name of the Bundeswehr captain commanding his partnered panzer company. Gaining confirmation he would then share the details of his own refugee ancestors. And they would remember.²³⁶

Identification and Analysis of Effects along
Diplomatic, Information, Military, and
Economic Instruments of Power

The sheer flood of Huguenots participating in the American Revolution, resulting from the streams of refugees intermingled among the Anglicans, Calvinists, and other groups, is somewhat daunting. The individuals and families described in the preceding narrative, comprehensive in scope but by no means exhaustive in nature, present ample evidence of this. Given a willingness to do the research and identify the respective relationships, it is difficult to find a participant in the American Revolution who did “not” have a Huguenot connection, be it a family relationship, personal relationship, or both. As demonstrated, these relationships often existed long before, during, and even generations after that conflict. The effort required to research these relationships obviously varies given the relative prominence or obscurity of the participant, but it does not require a 18th Century version of six degrees of separation, from heads of state to colonial militiaman, one or two degrees (at most) will suffice. Given this testable

²³⁶ Author's personal recollections of the relationship, began 2009-2010, while serving as commander of Hawk Company, 3rd Squadron, 2nd Cavalry Regiment, with the commander of his partnership unit, 3 Company, 104 Panzerbataillon, 12 Panzerbrigade. The author has been informed of similar encounters by other, partnered American and German soldiers.

observation, and the previous evidence, it is safe to assert that the amount of Huguenot participation on all sides of the American War of Independence is generally undercounted.

But did this large amount of participation really matter at all, and did it really affect the war in general or the final outcome? Or was just this historical equivalent of a large French garnish, something that embellishes the main course, and is interesting to look at but not really pertinent to the taste of the meal? To help identify any actual effects the connections of the Huguenot participants are aligned against the DIME model, and analyze their relative importance. This process involves accepting two assumptions. The first is that the outcomes of processes involving almost all these connections, Huguenot and non-Huguenot, will be shaped by family and group identities, including religion, which cut across all the instruments of power. The second is that any relative weight given to these outcomes will be subjective in nature, so a general acceptance that such a connection exists does not equate to a consensus on its resulting value.

Finally, except in the most technical sense, the fact that a Huguenot-descended individual or group demonstrated an effect does not make it an effect resulting from the Huguenot Diaspora. This sort of all-inclusive, transatlantic “butterfly effect,” with a probable cast of thousands, has the benefits of being comprehensive but does little for clarity. It also does little to distinguish the Huguenots from every other ethnicity and nationality that participated in the American Revolution. Not every Huguenot military leader was the result of a refugee military dynasty, not every Huguenot fortune came from a transatlantic network, nor did individuals only risk support for the Patriots or Loyalist causes because of a French Protestant lineage. Individual viewpoints,

capabilities, allegiances, and actions should only be judged as affected by their respective, Huguenot heritage if it is a clearly demonstrated relationship or reflected upon by the actual participants.

The diplomatic effects in the American Revolution can be summed up as being broken and not leveraged to any noticeable extent during the conflict. Relationships that existed before the conflict, like Augustine Prévost's sponsorship of John Laurens to the Geneva Academy, would play no part in preventing them from quite literally being on opposites of a siege line during the war. Later attempts by Sir James Jay to play on the anti-Catholic sentiments of his brother John during Peace negotiations were unsuccessful, and other Huguenots like Henry Laurens and Gouverneur Morris counterbalanced his prejudices. Finally, while Isaac Barré was indeed loyal to the American Colonials he had known and fought beside, there is no indication that his sympathies resulted from any particular affinity he had for any Huguenot kindred in North America.

When it comes to information effects the British did have an initial psychological advantage that many Huguenots, indeed most North American Protestants, shared a passionate and historical distrust of Catholicism in general and Catholic France in particular, an antipathy continually nurtured over decades and generations of refuge in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and parts of Germany. It was further inflamed in Colonial America by the recent experiences of the French and Indian War. This distrust can also be seen in the negative reactions to allied, Catholic French Soldiers attributed to the Huguenot inhabitants of New Rochelle by Nicolas de Barneville. This negative perception of French Catholics affected the decisions of Huguenots like Jacob Duché and John Jay.

This distrust was countered by the ecumenicalism of Gouverneur Morris, or even Alexander Hamilton, who developed a post-revolutionary friendship with the exiled Charles Talleyrand, a former Catholic Bishop. And, of note, the primary agent of the Anglican Church in North America, the SPG, did a much better job of creating Huguenot Patriots than Huguenot Loyalists. British information operations, planned or not, also pale against the overall French Calvinist influence on America's republican leanings, as viewed through the biting remarks of contemporaries like Horace Walpole and even George III. It was an ideological field well sown with local churches run by elected elders and vestrymen. It was also seeded with ideas from philosophers like the Huguenot refugee Pierre Bayle, or the avid follower of the French Protestants, the Scottish John Locke, all of them communicating ideas across a Republic of Letters that often used printing presses operated by French refugee printers in the Netherlands.

But, most importantly, any slight advantage of an inadvertent, anti-Catholic, British Psychological Operations program pales when compared to the critical use of the Huguenots' ability to actually facilitate the most likely means of communication used to carry information across the transatlantic community: the French Language. Anyone who has endured a meeting involving the speakers of different languages without a common language to facilitate the group discussion can attest to the frustrations of failing to understand what is said or written, sometimes coupled with the far greater frustration of unreliable interpretations and faulty translations. Factors like civilian or military, venue or language, are all irrelevant to this essential truth. It applies to high-level meetings of international organizations or meetings with greying elders in a Central Asian Village; the only variance is the level of frustration and the capacity for endurance. Any

knowledge of a local dialect, or at least a common language, can help mitigate this pain. The better the knowledge, the increasing levels of mitigation.

During the Revolutionary War period that common language was French. 18th Century French was, quite literally, the *lingua franca* of Western Civilization, a position of dominance it held since the 17th Century and would continue to hold until the mid-20th Century when it was eclipsed by English (with some French purists understandably challenging even the later caveat). No 18th Century European would be considered truly educated unless they possessed some knowledge of French, to include aristocrats, diplomats, philosophers, and military and naval officers. It was also a language capability that the Patriot cause often lacked, and was especially hard pressed to find within the Continental Army, as Washington himself noted.

Some Patriots like John Adams, Ben Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson became both Francophiles and Francophone. But there is a distinction of sorts between learning a second language late in life, even mastering it to some degree, and the sort of ability and comfort that comes from having learned it at your mother's knee at Nevis or maintaining it by family tradition in Charleston. Later instruction is also not the equivalent of having a French Protestant theologian knock the language of your ancestors and heritage into your head (perhaps literally) while you were a child attending a small school in New Rochelle, immersed in a community of French speakers. Nor is it the level of comfort that allows you to confidently attend school in Geneva or at the Sorbonne. This level of language fluency, the kind of proficiency that results in others remarking that one speaks French like a native, or arouses the jealousy of one's fellow diplomats, provides a combination of two advantages. To begin with, it restricts the possibility of friction and

miscommunication with foreign allies to the smallest level possible, perhaps to a degree no greater than frictions that result from any other interaction between disparate organizations. This initial benefit facilitates an arguably greater psychological benefit: that it imparts the native speaker or writer with a degree of credibility that greatly facilitates the building of rapport with the members of allied commands and staffs. This ultimately benefits not just the individual liaison but the organization he represents.

Anyone who doubts the veracity of this view should consider the pre- and post-revolutionary opinions and wisdom of George Washington. Washington was a non-French speaker who had issues resulting from this deficiency in the past. No enthusiast of interpreters, he employed trusted men like Hamilton and Laurens as his French voice in both pen and in person. Washington was an enthusiast for learning the French language and in 1771 wrote to Johnathon Boucher regarding his stepson's education "to be acquainted with the French tongue is become part of polite education; and to man who has the prospect of mixing in a large circle absolutely necessary."²³⁷ Years later, in 1798, he instructed John McDowell of St. John's College that, now regarding his step-grandson George Washington Parke Custis, "French, from having become the universal language, I wish him to be the master of."²³⁸ His step-granddaughter Eleanor "Nelly" Parke Custis

²³⁷ Founders Online, "From George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, 2 January 1771," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0289>.

²³⁸ Founders Online, "From George Washington to John McDowell, 2 September 1798," Founders Online, National Archives, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-02-02-0451>.

was also tutored in French during her childhood.²³⁹ Clearly, the Father of Our Country, a man who depended on French speakers on his personal staff, men who spoke the language like native speakers because, for all practical purposes, they “were” native speakers, believed in the importance of the French language and wanted the members of his own family to master it as soon and as thoroughly as possible.

The analysis of military effects of the Huguenot Diaspora starts with a conflicting process between Swiss Huguenots, something that overlaps into diplomatic and information effects, this in the forms of family connections and education. Both Henry Mouzon and Joseph DesBarres used their heritage to gain entry into institutions of higher learning, the Sorbonne for Mouzon, and the University of Basel, followed by Woolwich Military Academy, for DesBarres. Both used their exceptional skills in surveying and cartography to produce products that exceeded any contemporary work. These products were available to their respective nations: George Washington carried Mouzon’s map and the British Admiralty possessed the *Atlantic Neptune*. It is subjective to assess if Mouzon’s maps carried more weight than DesBarres’ nautical charts, and partisans of the Patriots’ eventual success in the Southern Department should consider a Loyalist viewpoint that the Maritime Provinces remained a part of the British Empire.

The British had the decided military advantage in the accepted, pre-nationalistic practice of aristocratic officers honorably offering their sword to various thrones, the only

²³⁹ Mary V Thompson, “Eleanor ‘Nelly’ Parke Curtis,” George Washington’s Mount Vernon, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiHqvYAuKLKAhXFeSYKHZH8CiQQFggdMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.mountvernon.org%2Fresearch-collections%2Fdigital-encyclopedia%2Farticle%2Feleanor-nelly-parke-custis%2F&usg=AFQjCNGtMfXQ8scrZ1>.

guiding principle being (sometimes) religious loyalties. British Huguenot military dynasties, some spanning generations, began with soldiers that joined William of Orange in his expedition from the Netherlands to seize the British throne in 1689. To this talent pool were added Swiss Huguenot soldiers in the mid-1700s. Finally within the personal reach of their sovereign, George III, the British could take advantage of his “other” crown as Hanoverian head of state, even if the result was just German Huguenot-led battalions to defend Britain’s European interests and free up more British troops for North America. The quantity and quality of this Huguenot talent is impressive: Schomberg, Ligonier, La Motte, Prévost, Haldimand, Montessor, Pigot, and even the tragic André. As evidenced above America would soon have its own Huguenot-descended, military dynasties, but, with the notable exception of the Irish expatriate Montgomery and the possible exception of Rhode Island’s John Mawney, none of these dynasties existed before the war. From the start of the conflict the advantage of the military effects of the Huguenot Diaspora clearly went to the British, the only undecided factor being the final effectiveness of their employment.

The economic effects of the Huguenot Diaspora also became a conflicting process during the American Revolution. The same transatlantic family networks that had facilitated trade now saw various members on opposing sides of the war, making trade risky and downright treasonous, even if personal and family loyalties trumped national loyalty. The escape of the Charleston Manigault family to manage their interests from a safe refuge in London for the duration of the war is an indicator of this. A case can be made that families like the Laurens made their financial power, power that helped drive their Patriot support, as a result of the Huguenot trade networks they leveraged, but this is

not something that was actually leveraged during the Revolution. These familial trading networks can easily countered, if not surpassed, by the economic strength that Britain possessed, due in large part to the fruits of Huguenot industry, to say nothing of the refugees' part in creating the Bank of England. In the end it is actually the *Nouveaux Convertis* Pierre Beaumarchais, from a former Huguenot family and possessing Protestant sympathies that gives the Patriot cause a slight, very qualified, advantage leveraging the diaspora's economic networks in the American Revolution's earliest days.

Overall, the simple result of adding up the resulting advantage of each of these different instruments, without assigning different weights to aspects of the DIME, would be that the effects of the Huguenot Diaspora gave a slight advantage to the Patriots. This result by the sum of one tie, a win for the British and their allies, a win for the Patriots and their allies, followed by another qualified win for the Patriots. But all things are not equal in this case. Disregarding the often conflicting and broken diplomatic transatlantic ties between Huguenots, a focus on the Huguenots' military contribution to the United Kingdom presents an advantage that the British were unable to leverage successfully. For all the professionalism the Huguenots provided over a century, to both the Royal Navy and multiple regiments of the British Army, expertise reinforced with the recent, 18th Century addition of professional Huguenot officers from Switzerland and parts of Germany, the British regulars could never decisively defeat a bunch of relative amateurs. An army of amateurs with what military experience they possessed drawn mostly from colonial militias, employing gifted novices named Huger, Laurens, Marion, Revere, and Sevier, or even the hypothetical John Smith and Hans Schmidt. The British military advantage was an advantage that never mattered in the end.

Beaumarchais' amazing help to the revolution did matter, but for the purpose of this model he can be removed for the technical disqualification of not actually being a Huguenot despite both his lineage and sympathies. The remaining, broken economic ties were also a contemporary non-advantage, despite any existing fortunes across the Atlantic built using previous refugee relationships. But the remaining Patriot advantage of having a small, readily available corps of fluent, native French speakers carries much more weight given the way the Huguenots used it to replace a capacity they generally did not otherwise have, and desperately needed. John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Henry Mouzon, John Laurens, Alexander Hamilton, Paul Fooks, and even Mary Valleau Bancroft, all leveraged this linguistic heritage to the benefit of the Patriot cause. The resulting positive effect was not leveraged to the Patriots' "advantage," but instead leveraged as a mitigation of the risks from the existing disadvantage. This capability greatly facilitated both military cooperation between the Continental and French forces and later diplomatic efforts to negotiate a treaty that secured a political victory for the United States. Given this one, single advantage (or reduced disadvantage) among many conflicting processes, it is highly unlikely that the resulting, cumulative effect of the Huguenot Diaspora was to "win" the American War of Independence for the rebelling colonies. It is accurate to say that without the Huguenot Patriots' participation, in this one critical effort, it is probable that the American Revolution would have been "lost."

Conclusion

The Huguenots were indeed unique with respect to their scope, size, and the resulting chain of effects resulting from their participation in the American Revolution. The conflict took place not in isolation, but connected to various geographic locations,

multiple events, and enduring beliefs and philosophies that both shaped and tied together the transatlantic community from North America to Europe, and beyond. As evidenced, the French Protestant refugees, be they called Huguenots or Walloons, had spiritual and kinship ties that transcended generations and crossed across practically every one of that community's ethnicities, religions, and nations. The American Revolution, as part of that larger community, was subject to the implications of these transatlantic ties. If Colonial and Revolutionary America itself was a quilt of many cultures, the Huguenots were a thread that ran through the entirety of it, connecting each of these separate scraps of cloth, to include some degree of female participation notable in a decidedly male-dominated society. The Huguenots, as expressed in the writings of John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens, and Andrew Pickens, were quite aware of their shared ancestry. It was a heritage remarked upon, in the historical and contemporary sense, by non-Huguenots like Ben Franklin, John Adams, John Rutledge, and Charles Pinckney, along with other, less-renowned contemporaries. In short: before, during, and after the American Revolution, the Huguenot Diaspora connected and affected both Huguenots and non-Huguenots alike.

This interconnectivity was not because of some proto-multiculturalism, but instead the result of an enduring cross-culturalism that allowed the Huguenots to acculturate with, survive in, and embraced by almost any group or creed sharing some aspect of the Christian tradition. If the Huguenot refugees shared one common characteristic it was their collective, chameleon-like ability to successfully acculturate into whatever community they found themselves. Huguenots throughout North America, Europe, and beyond would settle with and intermarry with English Anglicans, German

Lutherans, Ulster Scot Presbyterians, and even Orthodox Russians. The only demonstrated, habitual adherence to the tradition of their shared Calvinistic heritage was an underlying, very ecumenical interpretation of Protestantism. This interpretation is best defined as any Christian Church that did not submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome. And, as evidenced above, with a couple of notable exceptions the refugee descendants did not even adhere to that sole restriction. No other ethnic, religious, or nationalistic group during this period can match the breadth of those cross-cultural networks for either quantity or quality. The sum result of these Huguenot networks, both internal and external, produced effects that played in different ways across multiple lines of effort and the related instruments of power.

The story of the Huguenots' participation in the American Revolution has already been told in separate parts. Sometimes whispered; in often obscure lineages and genealogy tracts, at times shouted in celebratory volumes extolling the virtues of the refugees and their descendants to a nation, and occasionally stated as a matter-of-fact piece of background information that helps make a two-dimensional historical character feel more three-dimensional. What was previously unaccomplished was to connect these family trees, celebratory tales, and revolutionary dates and facts and attempt to see the connections among them, any resulting implications, and viewed from more than one perspective of the involved parties. Part of the reason for this disconnection was an unconscious, or at least deliberately non-malicious, reason centering on the focused viewpoint maintained by the vast majority of authors and researchers.

As alluded to in chapter 2 each of these various, focused narrative tales serves a purpose. There are exceptions, but in general genealogists' primary goal is to identify

family connections, with the historical or cultural significance of these being a reward of sorts that is secondary to the establishing those familial links. Many historians take the dimmer view of genealogy, except where it adds some descriptive color or is markedly pertinent to the events they are relating or analyzing. A mix of the two comes when genealogists, historians, or some resulting hybrid cultural researcher, makes the effort to research the virtues of some ethnic group or religious denomination.

This mix appears in the Dutch, English, Germans, Scots, Irish, Scots-Irish, and other celebratory, ethnic tomes, or various Anglican, Presbyterian, and Reformed records sitting among the other musty denominational histories gathering dust in almost any major university's library. They all tend to focus solely on the participants and events that support their narrative. The result is that any additional ethnic heritage is rarely alluded to, and anyone who decides to switch denominations is literally dropped off the roster rolls. Huguenots are not an exception to this filtering process. The Loyalist refugee who is exulted for his heroism by the United Empire Loyalists is unlikely to get even a brief mention by the Daughters of the American Revolution, then maybe as the black sheep of a noted Patriot family. The result is that the many of the possible connections fall off the page.

A possibly more malicious reason for many historians' failure to acknowledge and discuss the Huguenots connections and resulting effects is that their identification disputes an established narrative agenda. Their possible existence of these connections and effects runs counter to modern ideas that any religious or ethnic factors are unimportant, or at least insignificant. Present day opinion and culture shapes the interpretation of actual research. When commenting on the lack of scholarly interest in

the Huguenots in 1985, during the 300th anniversary of the Revocation, one British professor felt free to assert:

I dare say that a hundred years ago . . . people were much more conscious of religion and it may have been felt that the Huguenots may have contributed something to the an existing, everyday religious heritage that everyone is conscious of, where as now religious consciousness has loosened and is no longer important.²⁴⁰

Far more disturbing is when a recognized expert on the Huguenots feels free to make the general comment that “religion played very little role in the American Revolution.”²⁴¹ A comment, given its source, that is roughly akin to watching a church congregation’s leader spit into the baptism water.

Military readers who scoff at this being a narrative that resides primarily in civilian academia should consider a 2012 Command and General Staff College history lesson on the American Revolution that casually described George Washington as “a deist.”²⁴² This is not the only time such an assertion has been made, one among other often far sillier bits of historical revisionism that attempt to rewrite the Founding Fathers into a bunch of secular humanists, but to say that this is both controversial and disputable is a huge understatement. Washington, a Mason, was indeed possessed of an ecumenical

²⁴⁰ Christopher Andréa, “Remembering the Huguenots. The Expulsion of Protestants from France 300 Years Ago Helped Coin the Word ‘Refugee’,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 28 March 1985, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1985/0328/zhugen.html>.

²⁴¹ History News Network, “An Interview with John Butler...Was America Founded as a Christian Nation?” 2004, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/9144>.

²⁴² Michael D. Pearlman, “A Complex ‘Little Conflict’ on the Edge of ‘the Civilized World’,” in *H301: People’s Revolutionary War: The American Experience* (Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2012), 77.

spirit: as an Anglican he had a Catholic namesake in Georges Washington Lafayette, endowed a Presbyterian college, and was reputed by Baptists to be baptized by Joseph Gano, but any counter-argument could simply begin with the observation that Deism would make this sworn vestryman of the Anglican Church a perjurer.

The fact that such a charged comment was presented as an undisputed fact, this in a thoroughly planned, reviewed, and doctrinal course of professional instruction geared towards field grade officers, should give pause as to how far the secular narrative has reached. The relative merits, real or imagined, of a secular society, are far beyond the scope of this paper, but its implications for military and foreign policy analysis in both the historical and contemporary sense are not. Americans, to include those in and out of uniform, who help implement, plan, and execute military and foreign policy decisions, now collectively possess a growing and self-created blind spot when it comes to religion. If we train our leaders to ignore such an important factor as religion in molding beliefs and personalities, even when studying events in the 18th Century, how do we expect them to identify it, or the chain of effects it often influences, in the conflicts of the 21st Century?

Simply adding religion to any formula does not guarantee a universal screening test for identifying the historical motivators of actions during an 18th Century insurgency, any more than various, dutiful applications of Political, Military, Social, Information, and Infrastructure-Physical environment and Time (also known as PMESII-PT), Areas, Structures, Capabilities, Organizations, People and Events (also known as ASCOPE), or Sewage, Water, Electricity, Appliances, Trash-Medical, Safety, and Other Considerations (also known as SWEAT-MSO) formulas have worked in magically

predicting actions during the last decade-and-a-half of contemporary conflict.²⁴³

Compiling mounds of data is merely an all-too-common science, a sort of color-by-numbers guide to counterinsurgency. What is all too rare is the actual art of interpreting that data, to effectively uncover and leverage the relationships it often obscures.

The final point is not that religion was the sole factor that determined loyalties during the American Revolution. The conflicting loyalties of the Huguenots during the American Revolution give ample evidence otherwise, and any single prism analysis is fraught with risks. Nor is it that religion was the predominate factor. There are several well-researched and well-reasoned counter arguments for economic interests being a larger factor, and the Huguenots themselves can be seen often be seen aligning their hearts where their treasure lay. The concluding point is simply that religion “was” a factor, among both the Huguenots and the majority of their Revolutionary War contemporaries, and arguably an important one. Taking that factor out of their overall assessment is just as erroneous as removing a key variable out of an algebraic equation, and just as predetermined to failure.

America often sees history through a lens that colors past actions and discards opinions or events that run counter to the present, revised edition of it. We do not just use this polarized lens on past events, but also use it to color present foreign policy. The narrative of the American national mythos has now evolved to point where our noble ideals of unity, despite differences in race, language, and religion, or even national origin,

²⁴³ Headquarters, Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-24.2, *Tactics in Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2009).

are interpreted to mean that we must remain blind to the fact that those differences ever exist, or ever existed. America is a nation that teaches that everyone can be American regardless of ethnicity, that you can “become” an American, that out of many we are one. So we conduct peacekeeping missions and attempt to force unwilling ethnic groups to coexist as a testimonial to multiculturalism. We have nuked and firebombed entire cities in a war of near total means, yet rebuilt their host nations as an act of prudent foreign policy. We are then unable to grasp that ethnic conflicts and hatreds that span centuries cannot be simply ended with pragmatic good will, handshake photo opportunities, and some free elections. History’s would-be agents of tyranny, from 17th Century French Dragoons to 20th Century ethnic cleansers and 21st Century jihadists, are simply not responsive to these types of stimuli because they are simply too “foreign” to their world view to understand, let alone accept.

The Bible states that there will be “wars and rumors of wars.”²⁴⁴ The Huguenots from the 16th Century on accepted the validity of this as part of an entire scripture that they held inerrant. Originally it was received as a condition of their faith, but later reinforced by hard lessons taught in generations of warfare. We can feel free to question their faith, this analysis conducted centuries later from the comfortable perspective of the 21st Century, but not the experiences that helped shape it, the various results it affected, and the cultural biases that it spawned. And we must accept that, just like the Huguenots who participated in the American Revolution, we also have cultural biases of our own to this day. This is not a value judgment but a simple observation of the available evidence, good, bad, or indifferent. We then need to compare those biases against the metrics we

²⁴⁴ *The Bible*, New International Version, Mathew 24:6.

use to evaluate capabilities and threats, and realize that other cultures may have different sets of values, maybe even many different, overlapping sets of values. We must accept that those different, or even opposing, values change the lens they view the resulting data with, even if the information and metrics, or “facts,” are seemingly available and apparent to everyone. This is just as true when viewing a conflict nearly a quarter millennium ago or evaluating possible, present-day threats from other cultures scattered across the globe.

Instead, civilian policy makers and military policy executors often mistakenly evaluate these cultures and their intent, even in the face of their own statements, with an unproven assumption that deep down everyone is “just like us.” The spirits of the victims of the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, various massacred French Protestant colonial attempts, families that hosted unwelcome dragoons quartered in their homes, and nearly a quarter million total Huguenot and Walloon refugees would likely argue the invalidity of that assumption. Their voices could form a chorus with the numerous other victims of history’s seemingly endless series of massacres, various persecutions, downright holocausts, and floods of refugees, all across numerous different creeds and nationalities, and all continuing into our present, supposedly enlightened day. They might also collectively suggest the utility of possessing a moral courage to assert that sometimes values are not always universal, or shared across cultural divides to any practical extent, sometimes not even by proximate neighbors, and that the resulting differing cultural viewpoint may condone actions otherwise deemed unthinkable or unspeakable.

The study of the effects of the Huguenot Diaspora on the American Revolution serves the purpose of teaching that these different values and effects exist, and are

measurable in different ways. As alluded to above, the values used to weight these effects were both subjective and disputable, and that is the final point: the answers one gets are not as important as the willingness to ask the questions. Even a debate on their relative merits provides an exercise in evaluating lines of effort and instruments of power from different cultural perspectives. Far more importantly, recognition of both the Huguenots' participation in, and its resulting effects on, the American Revolution, as part of a greater history of *Le Refuge*, may serve as a reminder that many Americans also likely have refugees in their personal background. People who, before they were in a position to make history, were all too often on its receiving end. This is of increasing value for a nation that appears to act as if history is something that happens to somebody else. And for this possible, hopeful benefit we should all be grateful. And remember.

GLOSSARY

Affair of the Placards. Anti-Catholic protests that took place in France on 17 October 1534 and influenced Francis I to support persecution of the Huguenots.

Anglican Church. Branch of Western Christianity consisting of the Church of England and affiliated churches worldwide. Anglicanism espouses a wide spectrum of practices but centers on a middle way between Protestant Christianity and Roman Catholic doctrine, as evidenced by the retention of apostolic succession yet the rejection of Roman Catholic authority and infallibility. The branch of the Anglican Church in the United States was reorganized as the Episcopal Church after the American Revolution.

Apostolic Succession. Doctrine of the Anglican, Eastern Orthodox, and Roman Catholic churches that states that authority of Christian ministers derives from a continuous succession from Christ's original disciples, particularly in the case of bishops and Episcopal sees founded by one of the apostles.

Arminianism. Doctrine that Christ did not die for a preordained, limited number of believers. This doctrine also includes the tenant that salvation may be refused or lost. It is often contrasted with Predestination and the Doctrine of the Elect.

Baptist Church. Family of Christian denominations that believe that baptism should only be performed by adult, professing believers.

Calvinism. Collective term for the family of Christian denominations, including Congregationalists, Presbyterian, and Reformed churches that generally adhere to the teachings of Jean Calvin, along with numerous other Reformed theologians. The majority of the early Huguenots espoused various tenants of Calvinism, though many later embraced various other denominations of Protestant Christianity.

Camisards. Huguenots from the Cévennes region of France who waged an insurrection, led by various prophets, against the Royalist forces of Louis XIV in the early eighteenth century. The term is generally attributed to the linen smock worn by the peasantry that composed the bulk of the insurgent forces.

Congregationalist Church. Calvinist Branch of Protestant Christianity, one that traces its origins to the England and then New England, in what is known as the Great Migration. Unlike Presbyterian and Reformed churches, the member churches of Congregationalism are not subject to any higher authority such as a regional/national classis, synod, or presbytery.

Cuius regio, eius religio. "Whose realm, his religion." The faith of a ruler is the official faith of his subjects, though dissenting creeds had the right to leave the realm.

- This doctrine was accepted policy throughout Europe (though with numerous abuses) after the *Peace of Augsburg* in 1555.
- Doctrine of the Elect. Often simply referred to simply as the Elect, and tied to Predestination. In Calvinistic Theology the group predestined by Christ for salvation. Interpreted at different times to imply individuals or collective groups and nations.
- Edict of Fontainebleau* (1540). Edict by French King Francis I formally authorizing the persecution of the Huguenots.
- Edict of Fontainebleau* (1685). Edict by French King Louis which revoked the *Edict of Nantes* and sparked the Grand Refuge of the Huguenot Diaspora. Often referred to as the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*, or simply the Revocation.
- Edict of Nantes* (1598). Edict by French King Henry IV granting limited civil and religious liberties to the Huguenots.
- Edict of Potsdam* (1685). Edict by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, encouraging Huguenots to settle in the lands of Brandenburg-Prussia.
- Eighty Years' War. The revolt of the provinces of the Protestant United Netherlands against the Catholic Hapsburg-rule of the Spanish Netherlands.
- French Wars of Religion. Period of civil wars and diplomatic/political infighting, from 1562-1592, between the Catholics and Protestants (Huguenots) in France.
- Great Migration. The large migration of Puritans from England to New England, from roughly 1630 to 1640.
- High Church (Anglican). Those members and clergy of the Anglican Church who espoused a more Episcopal, hierarchal, and ritual structure in church government and practice.
- House of Bourbon. French, and eventually Spanish and Luxembourgian, royal dynasty that led the Huguenots in the Wars of Religion under the Princes of Condé. After the Bourbon Prince Henry of Navarre converted to Catholicism, this in order to claim the French throne as Henry IV, succeeding generations of the dynasty became increasing more intolerant of France's Protestant minority.
- House of Guise. French noble and royal ducal dynasty that supported, and often led, the Catholic and Royalist factions during the French Wars of Religion.
- House of Hannover. Royal house that has ruled (at various times) the Duchy of Brunswick, the Kingdom of Hannover, and the Kingdom of Great Britain. In Great Britain the House, in the personage of Queen Victoria, was succeeded through her son Edward VII as a member of his father Prince Albert's House of

- Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (that was re-titled “House of Windsor” in 1917). Members of both the Hannover and Windsor Royal Houses are descended from Huguenots through Louise de Coligny, among others.
- House of Hapsburg. Royal house that has ruled, at various times, the Holy Roman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Spanish Empire, the Second Mexican Empire, and numerous other kingdoms. Traditionally one of the most powerful royal houses in Europe. Hapsburg persecution of French Protestant Walloons in the Spanish Netherlands helped contribute to the Eighty Years War.
- House of Medici. Italian banking and political dynasty that exerted pro-Catholic influence in France through the marriage of Catherine de Medici to King Henry II and her three sons, all who became Kings of France.
- House of Orange-Nassau. Sequentially Stadtholders of the Dutch Republic, then Kings of the United Netherlands, and also (under William III of Orange) King of England. The House was traditionally sympathetic to the Huguenot cause as part of a larger opposition to the expansionist policies of Louis XIV. Members of the house are descended from Huguenots through Louise de Coligny.
- Huguenot. Historical term for French-speaking Protestants from France, often intermingled and interrelated with other Francophone Protestants from the Low Countries and Switzerland. The origins of the name are disputed.
- Huguenot Diaspora. The dispersion of approximately 200,000 French-speaking Protestants from France and around the world after the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* in 1685. This is often referred to as *Le Refuge*, also the Grand or Second Refuge. The Huguenots exiles often sought sanctuary and intermarried among the French-speaking, Protestant Walloons, who were refugees from the Spanish Netherlands and constituted the bulk of the earlier Petit or Premier Refuge.
- Institutes of the Christian Religion*. John Calvin’s work on Protestant theology originally published in Latin, and later in French. The work, after the Bible, provides the most significant foundation for the beliefs of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. Its discourses on religion and society had effects not just directly on the Protestant movement but also contributed to indirect effects on government and economics.
- Jesuits. Formally the “Society of Jesus.” A militant religious order that was the traditional agent of the Roman Catholic Church in its persecution of the Huguenots.
- Le Refuge*. See Huguenot Diaspora.
- Low Church (Anglican). Those members and clergy of the Anglican Church who espoused a more simplistic, reformed, and Protestant emphasis of worship.

Methodist Church. A branch of Western Christianity, originating as an offshoot of the Anglican Church, and based in large part on the teachings of John Wesley and George Whitefield. The majority of Methodist Churches, under the influence of John Wesley, teach the Arminian doctrine of Unlimited Atonement. A minority, influenced by George Whitfield, teach the doctrine of Predestination and are referred to as Calvinistic Methodists.

Moravians. A branch of Protestant Christianity tracing its lineage back to the Hussite movement led by Czech reformer, John Hus.

Nouveaux Convertis: Huguenots who reconverted from Protestantism back to Roman Catholicism after the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*. These *Nouveaux Convertis* were strictly watched by agents of the French royal government and the Roman Catholic Church for any perceived lapses in faith.

Orthodox Church. A religious institution, officially the Orthodox Catholic Church (and often, unofficially, referred to as “Eastern Orthodox”) that teaches that it is the one true branch of Christianity. An apostolic church it separated from the Roman Catholic Church in 1054 following disputes involving the source of the Holy Spirit and the Pope’s claim to universal jurisdiction. The church is the predominate form of Christianity in Greece, Romania, and large parts of Slavic Europe, including Russia.

Peace of Westphalia: Series of peace treaties in 1648 that ended the Thirty Years War’ (1618-1648) and Eighty Years’ War (1568-1648) originally fought between the Catholic and Protestant states of Europe.

Predestination. Doctrine of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches that teaches that Christ, being all knowing and all-powerful, died only for the souls of those he preordained to be saved. Those called through His Grace, irresistible and persevering, are known as the Elect. Also known as Limited Atonement and often contrasted with Arminianism, Free Will, and Unlimited Atonement.

Presbyterian Church. Calvinist Branch of Protestant Christianity, from the Greek *presbyteros* or “elder,” that traces its origins to the British Isles, particularly Scotland and Ulster (Ulster). Presbyterianism is often closely affiliated with the Protestant churches of the continental or Reformed tradition.

Protestant International. Overlapping family and social networks, to especially include economic efforts, existing in 16-18th Century Europe and across the Atlantic, and among several Protestant denominations and refugee groups. The Huguenots contributed a significant portion of the participation in these networks.

Quaker Church. A branch of Western Christianity formally known as the Religious Society of Friends. Formed in England from dissenting groups of the Anglican Church its tenants include the priesthood of all believers and pacifism.

Reformed Church. Calvinist Branch of Protestant Christianity as it is commonly known in France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, and other parts of Continental Europe. Reformed Churches are often closely affiliated with the Protestant churches of the British or Presbyterian tradition.

Republic of Letters. European and transatlantic community of ideas, exchanged by handwritten letters, ideas, and other writings, between philosophers and other intellectuals in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Roman Catholic Church. A religious institution, often simply referred to as the Catholic (Universal) Church that teaches that it is the one true branch of Christianity. It claims this authority through the apostolic successions of its bishops, to include the Popes succession of the Earthly authority vested by Christ in St. Peter. The Roman Catholic Church claims to be infallible in its views on Christian doctrine and morals.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Missionary arm of the Anglican Church that not only spread the gospel and provided ministers to overseas colonies, but also attempted to win converts from other denominations, to include both individuals and whole congregations, back to the Anglican Communion.

Thirty Years' War. Series of highly destructive wars that were fought across Central Europe from 1618-1638. It began as a Protestant versus Catholic conflict with shifting alliances due to the Bourbon-Hapsburg rivalry.

Vestryman. A member of the ruling council (vestry) of in many Anglican Churches, concerned with its day-to-day administration as opposed to ecclesiastical matters.

Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos. "Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants." Religious and political treatise, generally attributed to Philippe du Mornay, that addresses when it is morally justifiable to rebel against unjust rulers.

Walloons. French-speaking Protestants from the Spanish Netherlands, a region roughly akin to historical Burgundy and comprising most of modern Belgium and Luxembourg. Fleeing from the persecutions of the Holy Roman Emperor and Catholic Duke of Alva they sought refuge in England, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and parts of German-speaking Europe. This is known as the Premiere or Petit Refuge and help set many of the successful conditions that provided sanctuary to the later Huguenots of the Second or Grand Refuge. The two groups are intricately interlinked, especially with regards to follow-on migrations and settlements.

APPENDIX A

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO

EITHER PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED,

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Name	Affiliation	Home	Other Ethnicity	Denomination	Profession	Basic Education	Advance Education	French Speaker
Andre', John	British	England	English	Anglican	Soldier			Yes
Barre', Isaac	British Whig	Ireland	Irish	Anglican	Soldier/Politician			Yes
Bayard, John	Patriot	Pennstvania	Dutch	Calvinist	Merchant			
Beaumarchais, Pierre	French	France	French	Catholic (ex-Calvinist)	Artist/Inventor	Country School		Yes
DesBarres,	British	Switzerland	Swiss	Calvinist/Anglican	Soldier		Univ. of Basel/Woolwich	
Boudinot, Elias	Patriot	Pennsylvania	Welsh	Calvinist	Merchant/Politician	Tutor	Read Law at Princeton	
Boudinot-Stockton, Hannah	Patriot	Pennsylvania/New Jersey	Welsh	Calvinist	Poet	Tutor	King's College	
Bouquet, Henry	British Neutral	Switzerland	Swiss	Calvinist	Soldier			
Bowdoin, James	Patriot	Massachusetts	Irish	Anglican	Merchant	Boston Latin School	Harvard	Yes
De Peyster, Abraham	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Soldier			
De Peyster, Arent	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Soldier			
DeBrendt-Reed, Esther	Patriot	England/Pennsylvania	English/Dutch	Calvinist	Organizer			
DeCou, Jacob	Loyalist	New Jersey	Dutch	Quaker	Soldier			
DeLancey, James	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Soldier/politician			
DeLancey, Oliver	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Merchant			
DeLancey-Izard, Alice	Patriot	New York/South Carolina	Dutch/English	Calvinist	Housewife	Tutor		
Deveaux, Andrew	Loyalist	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Soldier			
du Calvet, Pierre	Patriot	Quebec	French	Calvinist	Merchant			Yes
DuBois, Lewis	Patriot	New York	Dutch	Calvinist	Soldier			
Fauquier, Francis	British Tory	Virginia	English	Anglican	Politician			
Freneau, Peter	Patriot	New Jersey	Scots	Calvinist	Poet		College of New Jersey	
Gano, John	Patriot	New York	English	Baptist	Minister		College of New Jersey	
Guerout, Pierre	Loyalist	Quebec	French	Calvinist	Merchant			Yes
Gulon, Isaac	Patriot	New Jersey	Dutch	Calvinist	Soldier			
Haldimand, Frederick	British Tory	Switzerland	Swiss	Calvinist	Soldier			
Hamilton, Alexander	Patriot	West Indies/New York	Scots	Calvinist/Anglican	Student		King's College	Yes
Horry, Peter	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Planter			
Huger, Benjamin	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Planter			
Izard, Ralph	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Planter			
Jay, James	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Physician	New Rochelle Academy		Yes
Jay, John	Patriot	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Lawyer	New Rochelle Academy		Yes
Jouett, Jack	Patriot	Virginia	English	Anglican	Soldier			Yes
La Motte, August	British Tory	Hesse-Celle	Hanoverian	Calvinist	Soldier			
Laurens, Henry	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Merchant			?
Laurens, John	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Student	Tutor	Geneva Academy	Yes
Laurens-Pickering, Mary	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Housewife	Tutor		Yes
Ligonier, Jean-Louis	British Neutral	Ireland	Irish	Anglican	Soldier			
Marion, Francis	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Planter			Yes
Markoe, Abraham	Patriot	Pennsylvania	Danish	Anglican	Merchant			
Maury, James	British Neutral	Virginia	Irish	Anglican	Pastor/Teacher			Yes
Mersereau, Joshua	Patriot	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Lawyer/Merchant		King's College	
Mersereau, John	Loyalist	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Propagandist			
Molineaux, William	Patriot	Massachusetts	Irish	Anglican	Merchant			Yes
Monroe, James	Patriot	Virginia	English	Anglican	Planter	Campbell Academy		Yes
Montgomery, Ralph	Patriot	Ireland/New York	Irish	Anglican	Soldier		Trinity College	
Montessor, John	British Tory	England/Gibraltar	English	Anglican	Soldier	Westminster School		
Morris, Gouverneur	Patriot	New York	Welsh/Dutch	Anglican	Pastor		King's College	Yes
Mouzon, Henry II	Patriot	South Carolina	English	Anglican	Surveyor		Sorbonne	Yes
Nicola, Lewis	Patriot	Pennsylvania	Irish	Anglican	Soldier/Merchant			
Pickens, Pickens	Loyalist	South Carolina	Scots-Irish	Calvinist	Planter			
Pigot, Robert	British Tory	England	English		Soldier			
Pintard, John Jr.	Patriot	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Merchant	Cutting Grammar School	College of New Jersey	Yes
Prevost, Augustine	British Tory	Switzerland	Swiss	Calvinist	Soldier			Yes
Prevost, Jacques Marcus	British Tory	Switzerland	Swiss	Calvinist	Soldier			
Provoost, Samuel	Patriot	New York	Dutch	Anglican	Pastor		King's College/Univ. Leiden	
Rapelje, Abraham	Loyalist	New Jersey	Dutch					
Revere, Revere	Patriot	Massachusetts	English	Anglican	Silversmith			
Roberdeau, Daniel	Patriot	Pennsylvania	Scots	Methodist	Merchant			
Schurman, Schurman	Loyalist	New York	Dutch		Merchant			
Secord, Joshua	Loyalist	New York	Unknown					
Sevier, John	Patriot	Tennessee	Scots-Irish	Calvinist	Frontiersman			
Sevier, Robert	Patriot	Tennessee	Scots-Irish	Calvinist	Frontiersman			
Timothee, Peter	Loyalist	South Carolina	Dutch	Anglican	Printer/Reporter			
Vilain-Timothee, Elisabet	British Neutral	South Carolina	Dutch	Anglican	Printer/Bookseller			
Washington, George	Patriot	Virginia	English	Anglican	Planter	Tutor		

Source: Created by author.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHIES OF SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO EITHER
PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED,
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

William Alexander (1726-1783). New Jersey Patriot known as Lord Stirling for his claim to Earldom of Stirling through his Scottish father. Alexander was a descendant of the Dutch-Huguenot De Peyster Family through his mother, Mary Sprat Prevoost Alexander. He served first as colonel of New Jersey militia then as general officer in the Continental Line. His service notable for his valor such as was demonstrated at the Battle of Trenton.

Anthony Allaire (1755-1838). New York Loyalist captured at the Battle of King's Mountain. He later immigrated to what became the Province of Ontario, Canada.

Peter Allaire (1740-1820). New York Patriot, merchant, and agent of Benjamin Franklin. He was later was accused of being a British spy and attempting to poison Franklin, resulting in his imprisonment in the Bastille.

John André (1750-1780). British staff officer under General Clinton. André was tried and executed as a spy by the Americans following his capture behind the lines, and in civilian clothing, during the Benedict Arnold affair at West Point.

Mary Valleau Bancroft (?-1776). New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey Patriot who likely encouraged Hessian Colonel Donlap to remain in her new hometown of Mount Holly, New Jersey. This delay prevented him properly supporting Colonel Rall's troops during George Washington's Christmas 1776 attack on Trenton. She was also an acquaintance of Philadelphia Huguenot, Daniel Roberdeau.

Isaac Barré (1726-1802). British soldier and politician. Originally from Ireland, he gained fame and experience in the American Colonies during the French and Indian War. Barré was the originator of the phrase "Sons of Liberty" during a speech given as a member of the British Parliament.

John Bayard (1767-1815). Pennsylvania Patriot. A Philadelphia merchant and one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Sons of Liberty. Bayard became a Patriot soldier and statesman during the American Revolution.

Pierre Beaumarchais (1732-1799). French Patriot, Artist, Playwright, and Inventor. Beaumarchais was a member of a Huguenot family that reconverted to Catholicism. He was instrumental in securing French aid to the American Revolution.

Elias Boudinot (1740-1821). Pennsylvania Patriot. Boudinot was a Philadelphia merchant who sponsored Alexander Hamilton when he arrived in New York. He later served as President of the Continental Congress.

James Bowdoin II (1726-1790). Boston statesman who opposed British colonial policies to the point that General Gage barred him from office. His son James Bowdoin III established Bowdoin College in his honor.

Pierre du Calvet (1735-1786). French Trader from Montreal, New France who supported the Patriot Forces of General Montgomery when they occupied Montreal. He was arrested by British Brigadier General Allan Maclean and was released three years later by Governor Frederick Haldimand.

John Crockett (1753?-1802?). Tennessee Patriot. Crockett was a frontiersman and militia soldier who fought with the Overmountain Men and the Battle of King's Mountain. He was the father of famed frontiersman, Congressman, and Hero of the Alamo, Davy Crockett.

Francis Dana (1743-1811). New York Patriot who served in the Continental Congress and later as Minister to Russia.

Daniel de Benneville (?). Virginia Patriot. De Benneville served as a sergeant in the 13th Virginia Regiment.

Jacob De Cou (1737-1806). New Jersey Loyalist. De Cou was Quaker who joined the First Battalion of the New Jersey Loyalists and later settled in Upper Canada.

James De Lancey (1746-1802). New York Sheriff, militia officer, and Loyalist who, as the leader of De Lancey's Cowboys, was known to Patriots as the "Outlaw of the Bronx."

Oliver De Lancey (1718-1785). New York Loyalist. De Lancey was a prominent New York merchant and politician who raised three regiments of Loyalists that comprised De Lancey's Brigade.

Oliver De Lancey Jr. (1746-1822). New York Loyalist. De Lancey served as an officer with the British 17th Dragoons for 49 years. He directed General Clinton's spy service after the death of Major John André.

Raymond Demere II (1750?-1791). Georgia Patriot. Demere was the son of Captain Raymond Demere who was killed at the massacre of Fort Loudin in 1760. Raymond II served as an *aide-de-camp* to Alexander, Lord Stirling.

Abraham De Peyster (1753-1798). New Jersey Loyalist who, as senior surviving officer, surrendered the remaining forces to the Patriots at the Battle of King's Mountain. He later served as provincial treasurer of New Brunswick.

Arent De Peyster (1736-1822). New York Loyalist. De Peyster was a career army officer notable for his leadership in the defense of Detroit.

Henry Lewis De Rosset (1724-?). North Carolina Loyalist. De Rosset was a planter, merchant and King's Councillor for the Province of North Carolina. Remaining loyal during the Revolution, he left the state in 1778.

Andrew Deveaux Jr. (1758-?). South Carolina Loyalist. Deveaux originally enlisted in the Continental Army, but served under General Augustine Prévost during the Siege of Savannah as a lieutenant colonel in the South Carolina Loyalist Militia captured the Spanish-held island of New Providence in the Bahamas.

Lewis Dubois (?). New York Patriot. Dubois was a commander of Patriot Militia from Poughkeepsie New York. His ancestor Louis Dubois founded New Paltz, New York.

Johann Christian du Buy (1740-?). Dresden-born officer seconded from General Knyphausen's staff to serve as a major in the Regiment von Bose. With over three decades of military experience, he was considered an extremely capable soldier and leader by both his fellow British and German officers. Du Buy also had, on occasion, the privilege of leading elements of the Queen's Rangers and the Diemar's Hussars.

Jacob Duché (1737-1798). Pennsylvania Patriot, then Loyalist. Anglican pastor from Philadelphia, he was chaplain who gave a noted prayer to open the First Continental Congress. He was later dubbed the "clerical Benedict Arnold" for his role in trying to convince George Washington to lay down arms and seek terms with the British.

Jacob Ferree (1750-1807). Pennsylvania Patriot. Ferree was a noted gunsmith and manufacturer of gunpowder for the Continental Army.

Paul Fooks (?). Pennsylvania Patriot who served as an interpreter of French and Spanish to the Continental Congress.

Phillip Freneau (1752-1832). New York Patriot. Freneau was known as the "Poet of the American Revolution." After the war he used his position as editor of the *American Gazette* to launch written attacks against the Treasury policies of Alexander Hamilton, and on the behalf his patron, Thomas Jefferson.

John Gano (1727-1804). New Jersey Patriot and Baptist preacher who served as a chaplain in the Continental Army. Gano was directed by George Washington to offer a prayer of Thanksgiving after news arrived of the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

John Lewis Gervais (1741-1798). South Carolina Patriot, statesman, and planter. Gervais is the reputed author of the anonymous and seditious 1775 book, *American Husbandry*.

Pierre Guerout (1751-1830). Quebec Loyalist who helped organize Montreal's defense against the Patriot Expedition to Canada.

Isaac Guion (?). New Jersey Patriot. Guion was major in the Continental Army who accompanied General Montgomery in the Quebec Campaign.

Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791). British Army officer born to a Swiss-Huguenot family. He was veteran of the French and Indian War as a member of the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans). Haldimand served as Governor-General of the Province of Quebec during the American Revolution.

Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804). New York Patriot born and raised on the island of Nevis in the West Indies. Hamilton was Scottish of descent through his father and a Huguenot descendant through his mother, Rachel Faucette. He served as an *aide-de-camp* to George Washington and later commanded troops at the Siege of Yorktown. He co-authored (with John Jay and James Madison) *The Federalist* and served as America's first Secretary of the Treasury.

Nicholas Herkimer (1728-1777). New York Patriot and descendant of the Petrie family who died from wounds received while leading Patriot militia at the Battle of Oriskany, New York.

Michael Hillegas (1729-1804). Pennsylvania Patriot descended from Alsatian Huguenots. Hillegas edited the Declaration of Independence and served the Continental Congress as first Treasurer of the United States.

Peter Horry (1747-1815). South Carolina Patriot and militia leader. Horry served as an officer in the 1st and 2nd South Carolina Regiments of the Continental Line. He later served as a regimental commander under Francis Marion.

Benjamin Huger (1746-1779). South Carolina Patriot who first greeted the Marquis de Lafayette upon his arrival to the shores of America. Huger was later killed in a friendly fire incident near Charleston. Benjamin Huger was the grandfather of Confederate General Benjamin Huger. His son Francis was involved in the rescue attempt of the Marquis de Lafayette from prison.

Ralph Izard (1742-1804). South Carolina Patriot. Izard served as a senator for South Carolina and president pro tempore of the senate. He was married to Alice De Lancey of the mostly Loyalist De Lancey Family of New York and descended from Huguenots who came to South Carolina by way of England.

Alice De Lancey-Izard (?). New York and South Carolina Patriot. She was descended from the powerful, Huguenot De Lancey family of New York and married Huguenot descendant Ralph Izard. De Lancey-Izard also corresponded with George Washington.

James Jay (1732-1815). New York Patriot who later became a Loyalist. The brother of John Jay, he chose exile in London, later receiving a knighthood.

John Jay (1745-1829). New York Patriot. Jay served as a president of the Continental Congress, minister (ambassador) to France and Spain, and was influential in the Treaty of Paris that concluded the Revolutionary War. He co-authored (with James Madison and Alexander Hamilton) *The Federalist*, and served as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Jack Jouett (1754-1822). Virginia Patriot who rode to warn Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia legislature of approaching British troops in 1781.

Peter Labilliere (1728-1800). Retired British Army officer. Labilliere was a descendant of Huguenot refugees that settled in Ireland. As a former, retired British Army major he corresponded with George Washington and exhorted British soldiers not to fight against Americans.

Henry Laurens (1724-1792). South Carolina Patriot. Laurens was a wealthy merchant and rice planter descended from Huguenots who settled in South Carolina by way of New York. He succeeded John Hancock as President of the Second Continental Congress. As a diplomat sent to the Netherlands he was captured by the British at sea and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He later assisted with negotiating the 1783 Treaty of Paris. His son John served a staff officer under George Washington.

John (Jack) Laurens (1754-1782). South Carolina Patriot and son of Henry Laurens. Educated in Geneva, Laurens served on George Washington's staff, to include the Battle of Yorktown. He was killed in a closing skirmish of the war.

Henry Lee III (1756-1818). Virginia Patriot. Lee was known as "Light Horse Harry" for his renowned skills as a cavalry officer. He was a descendent of Huguenot Nicolas Martiau, as were many of members of the First families of Virginia. Henry was the father of Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

Andrew Lewis (1720-1781). Virginia Patriot, originally from Ireland, famed for his exploits against the Cherokee. Lewis served as brigadier general in the Continental Army until passed over for promotion.

Ezra L'Hommedieu (1734-1811). New York Patriot, merchant, politician, and member of the Continental Congress.

Francis Marion (1732-1795). South Carolina Patriot known as the “Swamp Fox”. Marion was a planter who began the Revolutionary War as an officer in the South Carolina militia. After the fall of Charleston and Savannah, it was his ability as leader, in his capacity as a Brigadier General of guerrillas that is largely credited with helping the rebel cause to survive in the Carolina Lowcountry.

Abraham Markoe. Pennsylvania Patriot born on the Danish island of St. Croix in the Caribbean. Markoe was prevented in fighting in the American Revolution due to Danish neutrality during the conflict. He helped sponsor and finance the Philadelphia Light Horse.

Francis Maseres (1731-1824). British mathematician and lawyer who served as attorney general of Quebec. Maseres’ parents were Huguenots who fled to London. His heritage inclined him to support Protestant expansion in Quebec to the detriment of local Catholics. He was also a supporter of Patriot Pierre du Calvet.

James Maury (1717-1769). Maury, born to Huguenot parents in Dublin, Ireland, was an Anglican priest and educator, who helped instruct a young Thomas Jefferson. His 1763 claims for back wages by Virginia farmers in the Parson’s Cause lawsuit were successfully defeated in court by Patrick Henry.

John Mawney, Jr (1751-1830). Rhode Island Patriot, surgeon, and militia colonel. Mawney (originally La Moine) was descended from Huguenots that settled around East Greenwich, to include his grandfather, also a militia colonel, and his father, a sheriff. He was one of the raiders involved in the destruction of the HMS *Gaspee* in 1772.

John Lagrange Mersereau (1757-1841). New York Patriot and son of Joshua Merseau who served as a Patriot intelligence agent.

Joshua Mersereau (1733-1804). New York Patriot. Mersereau was an old, family friend of George Washington. Fleeing to New Jersey he served as the Quartermaster General of the Continental Army and Commissary-General for Prisoner Exchange. Mersereau also secretly operated a spy network for George Washington.

William Molineux (1717-1774). Massachusetts Patriot, Molineux was a member of the Boston Sons of Liberty. With notable skill as a political agitator, Molineux is best known for his part in instigating the Boston Tea Party.

Richard Montgomery (1738-1775). New York Patriot by way of Ireland. He died leading the failed Patriot expedition to Canada. Montgomery’s ancestors had been Scots in the service of France, who later embraced Protestantism and settled in Ireland under William III.

John Montessor (1736-1799). British military officer and engineer with extensive military service in North America during both the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. His reputed, illegitimate daughter Frances married Patriot Ethan Allen.

Gouverneur Morris (1752-1816). New York and Pennsylvania Patriot. Morris was known as the “Penman of the Constitution” He was descended from Dutch Huguenots through his mother, Sarah Gouverneur, and was educated at a Huguenot academy in New Rochelle, New York. He represented New York in the Continental Congress and Pennsylvania in the Constitutional Convention where he authored the preamble to the US Constitution.

August de la Motte (?). Hanoverian general in the service of King George III. De La Motte was the descendant of Huguenots who first fled to the Court of Celle in Lower Saxony. During the Revolutionary War he commanded three battalions that relieved British forces at Gibraltar and withstood a nearly four year siege by Spain.

Henry Mouzon II (1741-1807). South Carolina Patriot. Mouzon was a militia officer, officer of the Continental Line, and served with his cousin and friend, Francis Marion. Mouzon was educated as a civil engineer in the Sorbonne and surveyed both North and South Carolina prior to the start of the American Revolution.

Thomas Nelson (1738-1789). Virginia Patriot. Nelson was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Fourth Governor of Virginia. He is reputed to have requested the shelling of his own home, then General Cornwallis’ headquarters, during the Siege of Yorktown. He was a descendant of Huguenot Nicolas Martiau, as were many members of the First Families of Virginia.

Lewis Nicola (1717-1807). Pennsylvania Patriot. Nicola served as a military officer for three decades in Ireland before immigrating to Philadelphia. He served as a colonel in the Invalid Corps and was Barracks Master of Philadelphia. Nicola was a skilled cartographer and military writer who wrote a manual of arms widely used by revolutionary troops. He advised guerillas to avoid pitched battles against veteran troops and to seek battles only in advantageous terrain such as swamps and woods. Nicola is often disparaged for his rejected proposal to George Washington that the later establish a monarchy.

Andrew Pickens (1739-1817). South Carolina Patriot. Pickens was descended from Huguenots (originally named Picon) who had first settled and intermarried among the Scots-Irish/Ulster Scots of Ulster before immigrating to America. A veteran of the Anglo Cherokee War, Pickens later served as a militia leader during the American Revolution, rising to the rank of Brigadier General. Pickens later served as a South Carolina delegate to the US House of Representatives.

Hugh Pigot (1722-1792). British Naval officer, who saw fighting during the American Revolution while serving as an admiral in the Royal Navy in the West Indies. His older brother, Robert Pigot, also saw fighting during the American Revolution, leading the British assault at Bunker Hill.

Robert Pigot (1720-1796). British army officer who lead the assault on the American redoubt at Bunker Hill. Pigot was promoted to full colonel for his bravery during this action and continued to serve in the American war until he returned to England as a general in 1778. His younger brother, Hugh Pigot, also saw fighting during the American Revolution while serving as an admiral in Royal Navy in the West Indies.

Lewis Pintard (1732-?). New York Patriot. Pintard was a prominent merchant of Huguenot descent. He was a member of the Committee of One Hundred, which organized the defense of the colony of New York.

Augustine Prévost (1723-1786). British Army officer born to a Swiss family that had fled to Switzerland from Poitou, France. Prévost joined, with his brother Marc, the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) during its formation in the French and Indian War. Prévost defended Savannah from combined French and Continental forces during the Siege of Savannah.

Jacques Marc Prévost (1736-1781). British Army officer born to a Swiss family that had fled to Switzerland from Poitou, France. Prévost joined, with his brother Augustine, the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) during its formation in the French and Indian War. During the American Revolution he briefly served as British Governor of Georgia and later died of wounds while on an expedition to Jamaica, his widow eventually marrying Aaron Burr.

Samuel Provoost (1742-1815). New York Patriot and Anglican priest who later served as Chaplain to the Continental Congress and one of America's earliest Episcopal Bishops.

Esther de Berdt-Reed (1746-1780) Pennsylvania Patriot who raised thousands of dollars' worth of clothing and supplies for the Continental Army.

Paul Revere (1734-1818). Massachusetts Patriot and silversmith. Revere was a member of the Sons of Liberty, participant in the Boston Tea Party, and is celebrated for his 'Midnight Ride' to warn John Hancock, Sam Adams, and other Patriots that the British were marching to arrest them and seize the weapons stores in Concord, Massachusetts.

Daniel Roberdeau (1727-1795). Pennsylvania Patriot. Roberdeau represented Pennsylvania in the Continent Congress and signed the Articles of Confederation. He was a descendant of Huguenots who first immigrated to the West Indies.

Peter Ruttan (?). New Jersey Loyalist who was originally born in New Rochelle, New York. Ruttan first served in the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the New Jersey Volunteers, then under fellow Huguenot, Colonel Bayard, in the King's Orange Rangers.

Josiah Secord (?). New York Loyalist from New Rochelle who immigrated to Ontario. Husband of Canadian heroine of the War of 1812, Laura Ingersoll Secord.

John Sevier (1745-1815). Tennessee Patriot, frontiersman, and statesman who was originally from Virginia. Sevier served as a militia colonel leading roughly a quarter of the Overmountain Men who successfully defeated the Loyalists forces led by Patrick Ferguson at the Battle of King's Mountain. He later served as the first governor of the State of Tennessee and as a member of the House of Representatives.

Robert Sevier (1749-1780). Tennessee Patriot, militia captain, and younger brother of John Sevier. As an officer serving in the Overmountain Men, Robert died of wounds received at the Battle of King's Mountain.

Annis Boudinot-Stockton (1736-1801). New York Patriot, poet, and sister of Elias Boudinot. She was the only female member of the American Whig Society.

Pierre Stoupe (1690-1760). Swiss Reformed Church pastor who was later ordained as an Anglican priest. Stoupe's first North American ministry was to Reformed Churches in and around Charleston, South Carolina. Later he arrived as a SPG missionary to the Anglican congregation in New Rochelle, New York. Stoupe founded a boarding school in New Rochelle that instructed fellow Huguenots, and future Patriots, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and Phillip Schulyer.

William Turk (?). Pennsylvania Patriot. Turk (also spelled "Turck" and "de Turck") served as a Continental soldier through the Siege of Augusta, and under various Patriot commanders. These commanders included General Andrew Pickens, who would both praise and commend Turk's service.

George Washington (1732-1799). Virginia Patriot known by the sobriquet "Father of His Country." Washington served as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army and first President of the United States of America. He was a descendant of Huguenot Nicolas Martiau, as were many members of the First Families of Virginia

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS PERTAINING TO THE HUGUENOT
DIASPORA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1400s

1440-1445. Guttenberg's invention of moveable type enables printed versions of the Bible and works of various reformers to be circulated throughout Europe.

1500s

1512. Jacques le Feve writes *Aaneti Pauli Epistoles*.

1521. Martin Luther proclaims the documents of Reformation.

1523. First French translation of the Bible.

1525. Jean Calvin begins to lead the Protestant Reformation in French-speaking Europe. Growth of Protestantism among the French Population to include significant numbers of artisans, merchants, and the Nobles of the Sword or "*Noblesse d'épée*."

1534. The Affair of the Placards encourages Francis I of France to repress the Huguenots. This persecution is further encouraged by his daughter-in-law, Catherine de' Medici.

1536. Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is first published in Latin.

1538. Huguenots from Dieppe attempt a settlement on St. Kitts in the Caribbean that is destroyed by the Spanish.

1 June 1540. *Edict of Fontainebleau* issued by French King Francis I authorizing persecution of the Huguenots.

1541. Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is first published in French.

1555. Huguenot colonists establish France Antarctique near present-day Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

1562. Charlesfort established at present-day Beaufort, South Carolina by Jean Ribault at the direction of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.

- 1 March 1562. Massacre of Huguenot worshipers at Wassy, France. Beginning of the French Wars of Religion.
- 1562-1598. French Wars of Religion, period of several wars, battles, and other civil disturbances beginning with the Massacre of Wassy and ending with the *Edict of Nantes*. The principal factions being led by the Catholic House of Guise and the Protestant House of Bourbon.
1563. Spanish forces from Cuba destroy the now-deserted Charlesfort.
1564. Huguenots led by René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jean Ribaut attempt to settle Fort Caroline in present-day Florida.
1565. Spanish establish St. Augustine and sack nearby Fort Caroline, executing all surrendering Huguenots in the Matanzas Massacre.
1567. Portuguese forces destroy France Antarctique.
1568. The Duke of Alva, at the direction of Phillip II of Spain, enters the Netherlands to extirpate the Protestant (Calvinist) heresy. Numerous French-speaking Protestants in Flanders (Walloon) flee north to Holland and southwest to England.
- 23-24 August 1572. The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre initiated by the assassination of the Protestant Admiral Gaspard de Coligny while his entourage was in Paris to attend the wedding of Catholic Princess Margaret of France to Protestant Prince Henry of Navarre. This is followed by series of murders of Huguenots in Paris that spread across the French countryside.
1579. Phillip du Mornay publishes *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*.
- 24 April 1583. Louise de Coligny, daughter of Admiral Coligny, marries William the Silent of the Netherlands and the House of Orange. Louise's previous husband, Charles de Teligny, was murdered with her father during the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre.
1594. Henry of Navarre and the House of Bourbon converts to Catholicism and ascends to the French Throne as Henry IV.
- 30 April 1598. *Edict of Nantes* proclaimed by King Henry IV, which grants limited civil and religious liberties to Protestants.

1600s

1603. Sieur du Mont, a Huguenot, granted royal permission to settle in what became Acadia (modern Nova Scotia).

- 1605-1609. Flemish Huguenots (Walloons) settle in the Canongate area of Edinburgh, Scotland. Other Huguenots and Walloons settle throughout England and Ireland.
- 14 May 1610. Henry IV assassinated by Catholic fanatic François Ravallac. His son, nine-year-old Louis XIII, ascends to the French throne, with his mother Marie de Medici, a devout Catholic, as Queen Regent.
1618. The Thirty Years War in Europe begins, initially a war between Protestant and Roman Catholic states.
1622. Archbishop Laud attempts to compel Huguenots and Walloon refugees in England to conform to liturgy of the established Anglican Church.
1625. Huguenots among the settlers in Jamestown, Virginia
1626. Peter Minuit, a Walloon, purchases Manhattan Island from Native Americans for the Dutch East India Company.
- September 1627-October 1628. The Siege of La Rochelle, the last fortified French Protestant stronghold, at the direction of Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII ends in complete victory for the Catholics. Increased decline of Huguenot power and liberties.
1632. Jesuit influence at the French Court results in Louis XIII banning Huguenots from New France.
1643. Five-year-old Louis XIV ascends to the throne of France with Anne of Austria as Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin of Italy as Chief Minister. Persecution of Huguenots increases.
1648. The Thirty Years War in Europe ends with the *Treaty of Westphalia*. Bourbon France, freed from alliances-of-convenience with Protestant Europe states (this against their common, Hapsburg rival), is now free to persecute dissenting Huguenots without serious diplomatic repercussions.
1661. Death of Mazarin. Louis XIV now rules France directly.
1662. Huguenot colony attempted in Massachusetts.
- 1661-1685. Louis XIV rules institutes the policy of *Dragonades*, quartering French dragoons in Huguenot households in an attempt to intimidate them into converting back to Catholicism.
1678. Huguenots from the German Palatinate settle New Paltz in New York.
- 22 October 1685. Louis the XIV issues the *Edict of Fontainebleau*, which revokes the *Edict of Nantes*. Start of the Second or Grande Refuge of the Huguenot Diaspora.

29 October 1685. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, issues the *Edict of Potsdam*, which provides incentives to encourage Huguenot refugees to settle in his depopulated lands.

October 1686. Huguenots settle in Rhode Island.

October 1688. Louis XIV's armies invade the Rhineland-Pfalz (German Palatinate).

1688-1689. Jacob Leisler purchases six thousand acres in New York for the Huguenot settlement of New Rochelle.

1689-1691. Leisler's Rebellion ends with the execution of Jacob Leisler.

1690. Protestant forces loyal to William II of England (William of Orange) defeat the Catholic forces loyal to James II of England at the Battle of the Boyne. William's forces included several Huguenot regiments, plus scattered officers and soldiers throughout the army, and his deputy was Huguenot Marshal Schomberg, who died victorious in the battle.

1700s

1700. Huguenot settlement of Manakin Town, Virginia.

1702. The Camisards in the Cévennes revolt against the French government. Fighting and guerilla warfare there ebbs and flows for over a decade.

1704. *Church Act of 1704* restricts voting rights to South Carolina to members of the Anglican Church, disenfranchising Dissenting Protestants.

September 1706. English and Huguenot settlers defeat Joint Franco-Spanish expedition to Charles Town, South Carolina.

1706. *Church Act of 1706* restores voting rights to South Carolina Dissenters.

1710. Huguenots from Switzerland and the German Palatinate establish New Bern, North Carolina.

1711. *Occasional Conformity Act* prevents Catholics and other Nonconformists from the Church of England from holding public office

1715. Scattered fighting in the Cévennes ends.

1719-1723. Reverend Pierre Stoupe preaches in, and around, Charleston, South Carolina.

1724. Reverend Pierre Stoupe arrives in New Rochelle, New York.

1740. English parliament grants “citizenship” to alien immigrants, including Huguenots residing in the British Colonies throughout North America.
1753. John Jay attends Reverend Pierre Stoupe’s French-speaking school in New Rochelle.
1754. French and Indian War begins as the North American theater of the larger, worldwide Seven Year’s War between England and France.
1756. The 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) raised in North America. The regiment includes numerous Swiss Huguenot officers and uses financing by Huguenot bankers in London.
- 1759 (estimate). Gouverneur Morris attends Reverend Pierre Stoupe’s French-speaking school in New Rochelle prior to enrolling in Kings College, later, at age 12.
- 8 September 1760. Pierre de Rigaud, Governor of New France, capitulates to Field Marshal Jeffrey Amherst. This ends most fighting in North America between France and Great Britain in the French and Indian War.
- 10 February 1763. The Treaty of Paris formally ends the French and Indian (Seven Years) War.
1764. Huguenots led by Jean Louis Gilbert settle new Bordeaux, South Carolina. This is the last of the Huguenot colonies founded in North America.
- February 1765. Isaac Barré gives his speech in the British Parliament opposing the *Stamp Act* and describing the North American colonials as “Sons of Liberty.”
1772. 17-year-old Alexander Hamilton comes to New York City from the Caribbean island of Nevis. He initially resides at the home of Elias Boudinot.
- May 1772. John (Jack) Laurens and his brother Henry are enrolled by their father Henry into an academy in Geneva, Switzerland. They are recommended in this endeavor by Augustine Prévost.
- 9 June 1772. The raid resulting in the burning of the HMS *Gaspee*, to include John Mawney among the participants, further deepens tensions between Great Britain and Colonial North America.
- 16 December 1773. Boston Tea Party destroys the entire shipment of tea sent to Boston, Massachusetts by the East India Company. Paul Revere and William Molineux, along with Sam Adams, are among the lead instigators and participants.
- 5 September 1774. First Continental Congress Convenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

18 April 1775. Paul Revere rides to warn Colonial Militia of approaching British forces prior to the battles of Lexington and Concord.

19 April 1775. Battle of Lexington and Concord.

10 May 1775. Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

17 June 1775. Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed's Hill). British forces are led in their assault by Colonel Robert Pigot of the 38th Regiment of Foot (1st Staffordshire).

28 June 1776. Siege of Charleston, South Carolina begins. The British are initially unsuccessful.

4 July 1776. Continental Congress approves the Declaration of Independence. Jacob Duché leads the Congress in prayer after this approval.

26 December 1776. Battle of Trenton, New Jersey.

3 January 1777. Battle of Princeton, New Jersey.

13 June 1777. The Marquis de Lafayette lands at Georgetown, South Carolina.

December 1778. The British capture Savannah. Marc Prévost appointed Governor of Georgia.

14 February 1779. Colonel Andrew Pickens defeats force of North Carolina Loyalists at Kettle Creek, Georgia.

16 September 1779. Siege of Savannah, Georgia

11-12 May 1779. The First Battle of Battle of Charleston, South Carolina.

1780. Henry Laurens captured at sea by the British after trying to negotiate a treaty and a loan between the United States and Holland. He is imprisoned in the Tower of London.

29 March 1780. British forces lay siege to Charleston, South Carolina.

23 April 1780. British Major John André captured in civilian clothes while assisting in Benedict Arnold's attempt to surrender West Point to General Cornwallis.

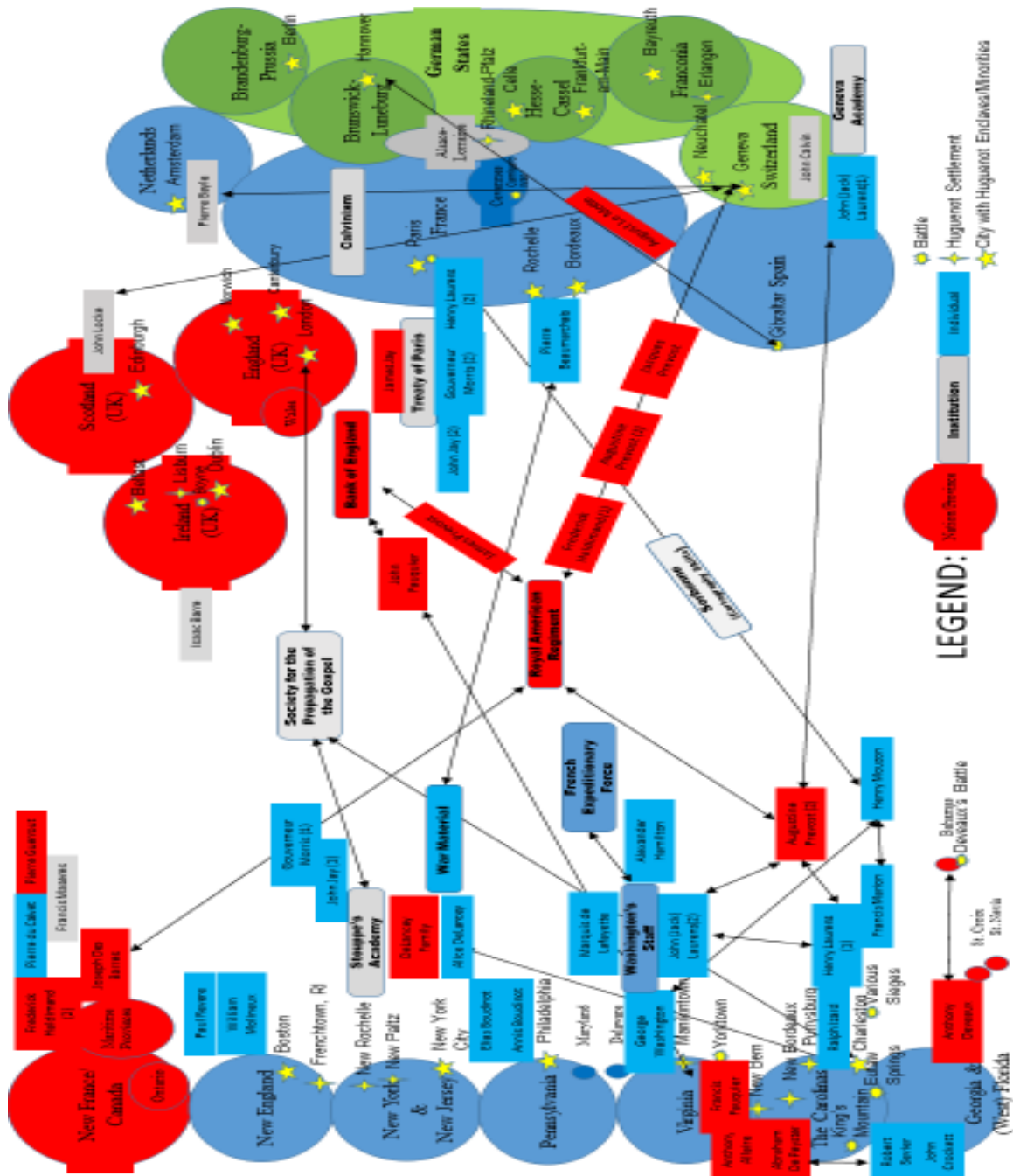
12 May 1780. British forces capture Charleston. Francis Marion escapes by being at home on medical leave.

20 August 1780. Brigadier General Francis Marion rescues 150 Patriot prisoners from the British at Nelson's Ferry, South Carolina.

- 2 October 1780. Major John André, after being condemned by a court-martial, is hung as a spy.
- 7 October 1780. Battle of King's Mountain, South Carolina. Robert and John Sevier, John Crockett, Abraham De Peyster, and Anthony Allaire are among the participants.
- 17 January 1781. Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina. Colonel Andrew Pickens commands four battalions of militia under the overall command of Brigadier General Daniel Morgan. The battle ends in a decisive American victory against the British forces led by Colonel Banastre Tarleton.
- 8 September 1781. Battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. This is the last major battle of the American Revolution fought in the Carolinas (though there are multiple, later skirmishes). An exceptionally bloody battle, the British are generally considered the (overall) victors, though the outcome of the battle is disputed by some historians.
- 28 September–19 October 1781. Battle of Yorktown, Virginia. This siege includes an assault, led by Lieutenant Colonels Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens, on redoubt No. 10. It ends with a joint American-French victory over the defending British and German regiments, and with the General Cornwallis' surrender, by proxy, to General George Washington.
- 27 August 1782. Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens killed in the Battle of Combahee River, South Carolina.
- 3 September 1783. Treaty of Paris between the United Kingdom and the United States formally ends the American Revolutionary War. The American delegation negotiating the treaty included John Jay and Henry Laurens, along with fellow negotiators John Adams, Ben Franklin, and William Temple Franklin.
- 29 November 1787. Louis the XVI signs the *Edict of Versailles* (aka the *Edict of Toleration*) granting non-Catholics the right to worship and possess civil liberties in France.

APPENDIX D

EFFECT NETWORKS BETWEEN SELECT HUGUENOTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN, OR INFLUENCED, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Source: Created by author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adams, Geoffrey. *Huguenots and French Opinion 1685-1787, The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.
- Adams, John. *John Adams I 1735-1784*. Edited by Paige Smith. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1962.
- Adams, William Howard. *Gouverneur Morris: An Independent Life*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Aiken, Scott D. *The Swamp Fox, Lessons in Leadership from the Partisan Campaigns of Francis Marion*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012.
- Allen, Thomas B. *Tories: Fighting for the King in America's First Civil War*. New York: Harper Collins, 2011.
- Atwood, Rodney. *The Hessians, Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Bangs, Jeremy Dupertuis. *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners: Leiden and the Foundations of the Plymouth Plantation*. General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009.
- Barbour, R. L. *South Carolina's Revolutionary War Battlefields*. Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2002.
- Barker, William H. *Early Families of Herkimer County New York, Descendants of the Burnetsfield Palatines*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2001.
- Barry, Richard. *Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1971.
- Beliles, Mark A., and Jerry Newcombe. *Doubting Thomas: The Religious Life and Legacy of Thomas Jefferson*. New York: Morgan James, 2015.
- Belt, Gordon T. *John Sevier: Tennessee's First Hero*. Charleston: The History Press, 2014.
- Bentley, William. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church of Salem, Massachusetts, Volume 2, January 1793-December 1802*. Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1907.

- Billière, Peter de la. *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713*. Introduction. Edited by Michael Glozier, and David Onnedick. London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.
- Bittinger, Lucy Forney. *The Germans in Colonial Times*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot Company, 1901.
- Blanco, Richard L., and Paul J. Sanborn, eds. *The American Revolution 1775-1783: An Encyclopedia, Volume 1: A-L*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993.
- . *The American Revolution 1775-1783: An Encyclopedia, Volume 2: M-Z*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993.
- Blow, Michael, ed. *The American Heritage History of the Thirteen Colonies*. American Heritage Publishing Co., 1967.
- Borneman, Walter R. *The French and Indian War, Deciding the Fate of North America*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2006.
- Boyd, George Adams. *Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Brookhiser, Richard. *Alexander Hamilton, American*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999.
- . *Revolutionary: Gouverneur Morris, the Rake Who Wrote the Constitution*. New York: The Free Press, 2003.
- Brown, Wallace. *The Good Americans: The Loyalist in the American Revolution*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969.
- Burke, William Lewis, and Walter B. Edgar. *Dawn of Religious Freedom in South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Burnett, Edmund Cody. *The Continental Congress*. New York: The MacMillian Company, 1941.
- Butler, Jon. *Becoming American*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- . *Religion in Colonial America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

- Calhoun, Robert M., Timothy M. Barnes, and George A. Rawlyk. *Loyalists and Community in North America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. 1536. Reprint. Geneva: Eerdmans Publishing, 1975.
- Campbell, Alexander V. *The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm 1755-1772*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.
- Carlo, Paula Wheeler. *Huguenot Refugees in Colonial New York: Becoming American*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2006.
- Chappell, Carolyn Lougee. "Family Bonds Across the Refuge." In *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, edited by Randy J. Sparks and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, 172-193. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Clary, David A. *Adopted Son*. New York: Bantam Dell, 2007.
- Cottret, Bernard. "Frenchman by Birth, Huguenots by the Grace of God." In *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 310-324. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Daughters of the American Revolution. *American Monthly Magazine, Volume 2*. Washington, DC: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1893.
- Davies, Horton, and Marie-Hélène Davies. *French Huguenots in English-speaking Lands*. Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2000.
- Davis, Burke. *George Washington and the American Revolution*. New York: Random House, 1975.
- Dellape, Kevin J. *America's First Chaplain, The Life and Times of Reverend Jacob Duché*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2013.
- Denis, Philippe. "The Cape Huguenots and Their Legacy in Apartheid South Africa." In *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 285-389. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Desmond, Alice Curtis. *Sword and Pen for George Washington*. Dodd, Mead, 1964.
- Dobson, David. *Huguenot and Scots Links, 1575*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2005.

- Du Mornay, Phillipe. *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*. Basel: 1579.
- Durant, William, and Ariel Durant. *The Age of Louis XIV: A History of European Civilization in the Period of Pascal, Moliere, Cromwell, Milton, Peter the Great, Newton, and Spinoza: 1648-1715*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.
- Easson, D. E. "French Protestants in Edinburgh." In *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, XVIII (1947-52)*, edited by Huguenot Society, 325-44. London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- East, Robert A., and Jacob Judd, *The Loyalist Americans: A Focus on Greater New York*. New York: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1975.
- Ellet, Elizabeth Fries. *Women of the American Revolution Volume 1*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1849.
- Elliot, Rita Folse, and Daniel T. Elliot. "Guten Tag Bubba: Germans in the Colonial South." In *Another's Country: Archeological and Historical Perspectives in the Southern Colonies*, edited by J. W. Joseph and Martha Zierden, 79-92. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- Ellis, Joseph J. *Founding Brothers*. New York: Vintage Books, 2002.
- Engal, Marc. *A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Fea, John. *Was America Founded as Christian Nation?* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011.
- Fischer, Gerhard. *Die Huguenotten in Berlin*. Berlin: Hentricht and Hentricht, 2010.
- Flick, Andreas. "'The court at Celle...is completely French' Huguenot Soldiers in the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg." In *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713*, edited by Michael Glozier and David Onnedick, 207-226. London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.
- Fosdick, John L. *The French Blood in America*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1993.
- Fosdick, Lucian John. *The French Blood in America*. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1911.
- Frezza, Robert. *A Small Colonial War*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1989.
- Furstenburg, François. *When the United States Spoke French, Five Refugees Who Shaped a Nation*. New York: Penguin Books, 2014.

- Garrioch, David. *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom, 1685-1789*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Gibbes, R. W., ed. *American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, from Originals in the Possession of the Editor and Other Sources 1764-1776*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855.
- Gigantino, James J. *The American Revolution in New Jersey: Where Battlefield Meets the Homefront*. New Jersey: Rutgers Press, 2015.
- Glozier, Matthew. *Marshal Schomberg 1615-1690, "The Ablest Soldier of His Age."* Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005.
- . *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688: The Lions of Judah*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2002.
- Glozier, Mathew, and David Onnedick, ed. *Wars, Religion, and Service: Huguenot Soldiering 1685-1713*. London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.
- Grimm, Robert T. *Notable American Philanthropists: Biographies of Giving and Volunteering*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Gwynn, Robin. *Huguenot Heritage; The History and Contribution of the Huguenots to Britain*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001.
- Hahn, Steve. "Henry Thoreau." In *Writers of the American Renaissance: An A-to-Z Guide*, edited by Denise D. Knight, 356-357. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.
- Haley, K. H. D. *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972.
- Hamer, Phillip M., ed. *The Papers of Henry Laurens: Volume 1: Sept. 11, 1746- Oct. 31 1755*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Signet Classic, 2003.
- Hassal, Arthur. *The French People*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901.
- Hawke, David. *The Colonial Experience*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1976.
- Headquarters, Department of the Army. Field Manual (FM) 3-24.2, *Tactics in Counterinsurgency*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2009.

- Heinrichs, Johann. "Extracts from the Letter Book of Captain Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jäger Corps, 1778-1780." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1898.
- Higgenbottom, Don. *War and Society in Revolutionary America: The Wider Dimensions of Conflict*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.
- Hirsch, Arthur. *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Southern Classics)*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
- Holmes, David L. *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993.
- . *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Horton, Tom. *History's Lost Moments: The Stories Your Teacher Never Told You: Vol 3*. Tarford Publishing, 2012.
- Jasanoff, Maya. *Liberty's Exiles, America's Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. New York: Vintage Books, 2011.
- Jay, John. *The Selected Papers of John Jay Volume 1 1760-1779*. Edited by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, and Jennifer E. Steenshorne. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.
- . *The Selected Papers of John Jay, Volume 3, 1782-1784*. Edited by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, and Jennifer E. Steenshorne. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013.
- Jay, William. *The Life of John Jay Volume 1*. New York: J. and J. Harper, 1833.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: 1 July to 12 November 1802*. Edited by Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Kamil, Neil. *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Kaminski, John P., ed. *The Founders on the Founders: Word Portraits from the American Revolutionary Area*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008.
- Kennedy, Billy. *Three Men of Destiny: Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, and David Crockett*. Greenville, SC: Ambassador Publications, 2008.
- Kidd, Thomas S. *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2014.

- Kilmeade, Brian, and Don Yaeger. *George Washington's Secret Six: The Spy Ring That Saved the American Revolution*. New York: The Penguin Group, 2014.
- Kingdon, Robert M. *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.
- Kitchen, Martin. *Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Kwansky, Mark V. *Washington's Partisan War, 1775-1783*. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1996.
- Lambert, David E. *The Protestant International and Huguenot Immigration to Virginia (Studies in Church History)*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010.
- Langly, Lester. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*. Yale: Yale College, 1996.
- Laurens, Henry. *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 8: Oct. 10, 1771-April 19, 1773*. Edited by David R. Chesnut. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980.
- . *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 9: April 19, 1773- Dec. 12, 1774*. Edited by David R. Chesnut. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981.
- . *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 16: September 1, 1782-December 17, 1792*. Edited by David R. Chesnut and C. James Taylor. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2002.
- Lecke, Robert. *George Washington's War: The Saga of the American Revolution*. New York: Harpers Collins Publishers, 1992.
- Lefkowitz, Arthur S. *George Washington's Indispensable Men: The 32 Aides-de-Camp Who Helped Win American Independence*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003.
- Leyburn, James G. *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962.
- Loewenstein, Prince Hubertus Zu. *The Germans in History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Lossing, Benson J. *The Life and Times of Phillip Schulyer*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.
- Macdonald-Lewis, Linda. *The Warriors and Wordsmiths of Freedom*. Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2009.

- Manuel, Frank E., and Fritzie P. Manuel. *James Bowdoin and the Patriot Philosophers*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004.
- Marsh, Phillip Merrill. *Phillip Freneau, Poet and Journalist*. Minneapolis: Dillon Press, 1968.
- Martheilhe, Jean. *The Huguenot Galley-Slave, being the Authorized Autobiography of a French Protestant Condemned to the Galleys for the Sake of His Religion*. New York: Leypoldt and Holdt, 1867.
- McCall, Ettie Tidwell. *Roster of Revolutionary War Soldiers in Georgia, Volume 3*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969.
- McCullough, David. *1776*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2005.
- McGraw, Paul. "The History of the Huguenots in North America: Protestant History and Polemic." In *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context, Essays in Honor and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, edited by David J. B. Trim, 285-304. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Meade, Robert Douthat. *Patrick Henry, Practical Revolutionary*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1957.
- Mentzer, Raymond A. *Blood and Belief, Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provencial Huguenot Nobility*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1993.
- Mentzer, Raymond A., and Andrew Spicer. *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Michener, James. *The Covenant*. New York: Random House, 1980.
- Migliazzo, Arlin C. *To Make this Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732-1865*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007.
- Miles, David. *The Tribes of Great Britain*. London: Orion Books, 2006.
- Milner, John C. *This New Man, This American: The Beginnings of the American People*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.
- Miner, Sidney. *Colonel Isaac Barre, 1726-1802, Orator, Soldier, Statesman, and Friend of the American Colonies*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1901.
- Mitford, Nancy. *Frederick the Great*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984.

- Morrill, Dan. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Baltimore, MD: The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1996.
- Morris, Richard B. *John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary 1745-1780*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975.
- Morrison, Samuel Elliot, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg. *The Growth of the American Republic: Volume I*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Morton, Brian N., and Donald C. Spinelli. *Beaumarchais and the American Revolution*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.
- Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior. *The Journals of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, 1945.
- Namier, Lewis. *England During the American Revolution*. London: The Macmillan Press, 1974.
- O'Brien, Connor Cruise. *The States of Ireland*. London: Hutchinson, 1972.
- Owen, John M. *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Page, Anne-Dunan. *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006.
- Paul, Joel Richard. *Unlikely Allies: How a Merchant, a Playwright and a Spy Saved the American Revolution*. New York: Penguin Group, 2009.
- Pearlman, Michael D. "A Complex 'Little Conflict' on the Edge of 'the Civilized World'." In *H301: People's Revolutionary War: The American Experience*, 63-84. Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2012.
- Phillips, Kevin P. *The Cousin's Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.
- Pickens, William H. *Andrew Pickens: South Carolina Patriot in the Revolutionary War*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2012.
- Randall, Catherine. *From a Far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009.
- Randall, Willard Sterne. *Alexander Hamilton: A Life*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003.

- Rankin, Hugh F. *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973.
- Ravoke, Jack. *Revolutionaries; A New History of the Invention of America*. Boston: Mariner Books, 2010.
- Reaman, Greg Elmore. *The Trail of the Huguenots in Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Canada*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Society, 1966.
- Rhoden, Nancy L., and Ian K. Steele, eds. *The Human Tradition in the American Revolution*. Wilmington, DE: S R Books, 2002.
- Rogers, George C. *Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston*. Charleston: University of South Carolina Press, 1962.
- Rose, J. Holland, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benian. *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: Volume I The Old Empire*. New York: The Macmillian Company, 1929.
- Rothrock, George A. *Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1973.
- Russell, David. *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009.
- Saville, Max. *A History of Colonial America*. Hinsdale: Dryden Press, 1973.
- Schama, Simon. *The History of Britain: The Wars of the British 1603-1776 Volume 2*. Talk Mirimax Books, 2001.
- Scott, Franklin D. *Sweden: The Nation's History*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988.
- Shallat, Todd. *Structures in the Stream: Water, Science, and the Rise of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.
- Smiles, Samuel. *The Huguenots in France After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: With a Visit to the Country of the Vaudois*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1874.
- Smith, Page. *A New Age Now Begins*. New York: The McGraw Hill Book Company, 1977.
- Swisher, James K. *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2008.
- Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies*. New York: Viking Penguin Group, 2001.
- Treasure, Geoffrey. *The Huguenots*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2013.

- . *Who's Who in Early Hanoverian Britain*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1992.
- Tricent. *Tercentary Studies 1928, Reformed Church in America, A Record of Beginnings*. Reformed Church in America, 1928.
- Unger, Harlow Giles. *Lafayette*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2002.
- . *Lion of Liberty, Patrick Henry and the Call to a New Nation*. Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2010.
- Van Ruymbeke, Bertrand. *New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Van Ruymbeke, Bertrand, and Randy J. Sparks. *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Vigne, Robert, and Charles Littleton. *Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America*. London: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2001.
- Webb, Jim. *Born Fighting, How the Scots-Irish Helped Shape America*. New York: Broadway Books, 2004.
- Weintraub, Stanley. *Iron Tears: America's Battle for Freedom, Britain's Quagmire: 1775-1783*. New York: Free Press, 2005.
- Weiss, Charles M. *History of the French Protestant Refugees*. New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1854.
- Williams, Frances Leigh. *A Founding Family, The Pinckneys of South Carolina*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
- Wood, James B. *The King's Army*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies*. New York: Viking Penguin Group, 2001.
- Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 Volume 37*. Washington, DC: George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Government Printing Offices, 1940.

Papers

- Hannum, Patrick. "Henry Bouquet: A Study of Three Military Campaigns in North America, 1758-1764." Master's Thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1991.

- Reynolds, Donald Eugene. "The Anglo-Huguenot Alliance, 1562-1593." Graduate Thesis, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas, 1952.
- Roth, Brenda Fay. "The French Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina: Assimilation or Acculturation?" Master's Thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, 1984.
- Smith, George Michael. "Huguenot Memory and Identity in 19th Century America." Master's Thesis, The National Huguenot Society, San Antonio, TX, 2015.
- Smith, Samuel Clayton. "Through the Eye of the Needle: The Role of Pietistic and Mystical Thought the Anglican Elite in the Eighteenth Century Lowcountry South." Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 1999.

Online Documents

- American Archives. "Petition of Paul Fooks to Congress." American Archives, Documents of the American Revolutionary Period, 1774-1776. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://amarch.lib.niu.edu/islandora/object/niu-amarch%3A96243>.
- Founders Online. "From Alexander Hamilton to William Jackson, August 26, 1800." Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 24 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=huguenot%20Author%3A%22Hamilton%2C%20Alexander%22&s=1111311111&sa=&r=3&sr=>.
- . "From Benjamin Franklin to Henry Bouquet, 14 April 1757." Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 26 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-07-02-0078>.
- . "From George Washington to Annis Boudinot Stockton, 22 July 1782." Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Recipient%3A%22Stockton%2C%20Annis%20Boudinot%22&s=1111311111&r=1>.
- . "From George Washington to John McDowell, 2 September 1798." Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-02-02-0451>.
- . "From George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, 2 January 1771." Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0289>.
- . "From John Adams to Alden Bradford, 26 October 1821." Founders Online, The National Archives. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7563>.

- . “Louis Ourry to----, 26 December 1756.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-07-02-0022>.
- . “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, 1751.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0080>.
- . “On a Proposed Act to Prevent Emigration, [December? 1773].” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-20-02-0278>.
- . “The Funeral [New York.14 July 1804].” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=%22alexander%20hamilton%22%20funeral&s=1211311111&sa=&r=5&sr=>.
- . “To Benjamin Franklin from Frederick William de Woedtke, 3 July 1776.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Paul%20Fooks&s=1111311111&sa=&r=1&sr=>.
- . “To George Washington from Alice De Lancey Izard, 25 June 1798.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-02-02-0275>.
- . “To George Washington from Lafayette, 11 May 1785.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-02-02-0401>.
- . “To George Washington from Peter Labilliere, 4 November 1777.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 15 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-12-02-0109>.
- . “To James Madison from Charles Pinckney, 6 August 1791.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-14-02-0061>.
- . “To John Adams from Edmund Jenings, 20 October 1781.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=peter%20allaire&s=1111311111&sa=&r=8&sr=>.
- . “To John Adams from François Adriaan Van der Kemp, 18 February 1806.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed 25 January 2016. <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=huguenot%20%20Author%3A%22Van%20der%20Kemp%2C%20Fran%C3%A7ois%20Adriaan%22&s=1111311121&r=1>.

- Howell, Joseph. "Account of Lewis DuBois (Certification of Service and Settlement of Pay for Colonel Lewis Dubois of the 5th New York Regiment, 5 June 1794)." Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/docimage.php?id=10609&docCollID=11640>.
- Mouzon, Henry. "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers, Shewing in a distinct manner all the Mountains, Rivers, Swamps, Marshes, Bays, Creeks, Harbours, Sandbanks and Soundings on the Coasts, with The Roads and Indian Paths; as well as The Boundary or Provincial Lines, The Several Townships and other divisions of the Land in Both the Provinces; the whole from Actual Surveys by Henry Mouzon and Others." North Carolina Maps. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/125>.
- Packard Humanities Institute. "From- de Favin (unpublished)." The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Accessed 11 September 2015. <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=26&page=328a001>.
- Tennessee Genealogical Network. "The 1780 Diary of Loyalist Lieutenant Anthony Allaire of King's Mountain." Tennesseans in the Revolutionary War. Accessed 11 September 2015. <http://www.tngenweb.org/revwar/kingsmountain/allaire.html>.
- The National Humanities Center. "Petition of the French Refugees to the Governor of Virginia, 1700." Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/growth/text4/frenchvirginia.pdf>.
- Turk, William. "Pension Application of William Turk." Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Applications and Rosters. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://www.revwarapps.org/w4357.pdf>.
- War Department. "Certification of Pay and Service for Daniel De Benneville, late Sergeant of the 13th Virginia Regiment." Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=8789>.

Websites

- Andréa, Christopher. "Remembering the Huguenots. The Expulsion of Protestants from France 300 Years Ago Helped Coin the Word 'Refugee'." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 28 March 1985. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.csmonitor.com/1985/0328/zhugen.html>.
- Andrews, Evans. "7 Things You May Not Know About the Gutenberg Bible." History.com. 23 February 2015. Accessed 11 September 2015. <http://www.history.com/news/7-things-you-may-not-know-about-the-gutenberg-bible>.

- Armour, David A. "DePeyster, Arent Schuyler." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 6, University of Toronto, 1987. Accessed 13 September 2015.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?id_nbr=2831.
- Barbeau, Michel. "Our Huguenot Ancestors." 21 June 1998. Accessed 27 January 2016.
<http://pages.infinit.net/barbeaum/huga/>.
- Boucher, Phillip P. "Revisioning the "French Atlantic: or, How to Think about the French Presence in the Atlantic, 1550-1625." In *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1625*, edited by Peter C. Mancall, 274-307. Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- British Broadcasting Service. "Immigration and Emigration, The World in a City." Accessed 13 September 2013. http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/london/article_1.shtml.
- Colonial Williamsburg. "Francis Fauquier." Accessed 11 January 2016.
<http://www.history.org/almanack/people/bios/biofaq.cfm>.
- Daughters of the American Revolution. "Who was Jacob Ferree." Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~pajfcdar/ChapterHistory.html>.
- Davies, Robert Scott. "The Mystery Book and the Forgotten Founding Father." *The Journal of the American Revolution*, 17 July 2014. Accessed 11 January 2016.
<http://allthingsliberty.com/2014/07/the-mystery-book-and-the-forgotten-founding-father/>.
- Edmunds, Bob. "The Huguenots of New Bordeaux." Accessed 27 January 2016.
<http://web.wctel.net/~cedarhill/huguenot.html>.
- Evangelical Reformed Church in Poland. "Welcome." Accessed 24 January 2016.
<http://www.reformowani.pl/index.php/welcome>.
- Fore, Samuel K. "Andrew Lewis." George Washington's Mount Vernon. Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://www.mountvernon.org/digital-encyclopedia/article/andrew-lewis/>.
- French Protestant (Huguenot) Church. "The Charleston Community." Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.huguenot-church.org/charleston-community.html>.
- . "Welcome." Accessed 11 September 2015. <http://www.huguenot-church.org/>.
- Hardy, Rob. "Ancestry." George Washington's Mount Vernon. Accessed 14 May 2015.
<http://www.mountvernon.org/research-collections/digital-encyclopedia/article/ancestry/>.

- History News Network. "An Interview with John Butler...Was America Founded as a Christian Nation?" 2004. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/9144>.
- History.com. "1754: Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Builds Fort Necessity." Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/lieutenant-colonel-george-washington-builds-fort-necessity>.
- Huguenot Society of South Africa. Accessed 25 January 2016. <http://www.hugenoot.org.za/surname.htm>.
- Lewis, J. D. "The German/Swiss (Palatine) Settlers During the Royal Period (1729 to 1775)." The Royal Colony of South Carolina. Accessed 11 January 2016. http://www.carolana.com/SC/Royal_Colony/sc_royal_colony_german_swiss.html.
- Mackenzie, James. "Renegade German War Hero who Saved French Port Dies." *Reuters*, 25 February 2010. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-bordeaux-hero-idUSTRE61O2SQ20100225>.
- MacLean, Maggie. "Annis Boudinot Stockton." *History of American Women*, 8 June 2009. Accessed 26 January 2016. <http://www.womenhistoryblog.com/2009/08/annis-boudinot-stockton.html>.
- Messina, Jeffrey. "Asgill Affair." George Washington's Mount Vernon. Accessed 25 January 2016. <http://www.mountvernon.org/research-collections/digital-encyclopedia/article/asgill-affair/>.
- Morgan, R. J. "DesBarres, Joseph Frederick Wallet." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 6, University of Toronto, 1987. Accessed 27 January 2016. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbarres_joseph_frederick_wallet_6E.html.
- Musée virtuel du Protestantisme. "The Reactions in France and Abroad." Accessed 11 September 2015. <http://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-reactions-in-france-and-abroad/>.
- Rizzo, Dennis, and Alixia McShuklis. "The Widow Who Saved a Revolution." Garden State Legacy, December 2012. Accessed 27 January 2016. http://www.gardenstatelegacy.com/files/The_Widow_Who_Saved_a_Revolution_Rizzo_McShuklis_GSL18_PRINT.pdf.
- Scholet, Nicole. "Poetry of Alexander Hamilton." The Alexander Hamilton Awareness Society, 22 April 2015. Accessed 24 January 2016. <http://the-aha-society.com/index.php/publications/articles/87-aha-society-articles/179-poetry-of-alexander-hamilton>.

- Struble, George G. "The French Element Among the Pennsylvania Germans." Accessed 27 January 2016. <https://journals.psu.edu/phj/article/viewFile/22432/22201>.
- The Economist. "France's Protestants: Prim but Paunchy." 16 April 1998. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.economist.com/node/160426>.
- The National Huguenot Society. Accessed 24 May 2016. <http://www.huguenot.netnation.com/general/>.
- The Official Website of the British Monarchy. "James VI and I (r.1567-1625)." Accessed 11 September 2015. [http://www.royal.gov.uk/historyofthemonarchy/scottish%20monarchs\(400ad-1603\)/thestewarts/jamesviandi.aspx](http://www.royal.gov.uk/historyofthemonarchy/scottish%20monarchs(400ad-1603)/thestewarts/jamesviandi.aspx).
- The On-Line Institute for Advance Loyalist Studies. "General Court Martial of Anthony Allaire." 28-31 March 1781. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/cmallr4.htm>.
- The World Holocaust Remembrance Center. "The Righteous Among the Nations." Yad Vashem. Accessed 27 January 2016. http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/related_sites.asp.
- The United States Army War College. "Army Heritage Trail." Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ahc/trail/Redoubt10/>.
- Thompson, Mary V. "Eleanor 'Nelly' Parke Curtis." George Washington's Mount Vernon. Accessed 11 January 2016. <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKewiHqvvyAuKLKAhXFeSYKHZH8CiQQFggdMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.mountvernon.org%2Fresearch-collections%2Fdigital-encyclopedia%2Farticle%2Feleanor-nelly-parke-custis%2F&usg=AFQjCNGtMfXQ8scrZl>.
- United Empire Loyalists. "Directory of Loyalists." Accessed 27 January 2016. http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Info/Loyalist_list.php?letter=d.
- Upshaw, Tom. "A Short History of the Palatines." Accessed 27 January 2016. <http://www.teskey.org/palhist.html>.
- Woodlief, Ann. "The Huguenot World of Thomas Jefferson." The Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia, 2011. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://huguenot-manakin.org/manakin/jefferson.php>.
- Wright, Robert K., and Morris J. MacGregor Jr. *Gouverneur Morris, Pennsylvania*. Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 1987. Accessed 13 September 2015. <http://www.history.army.mil/books/revwar/ss/morrisg.htm>.